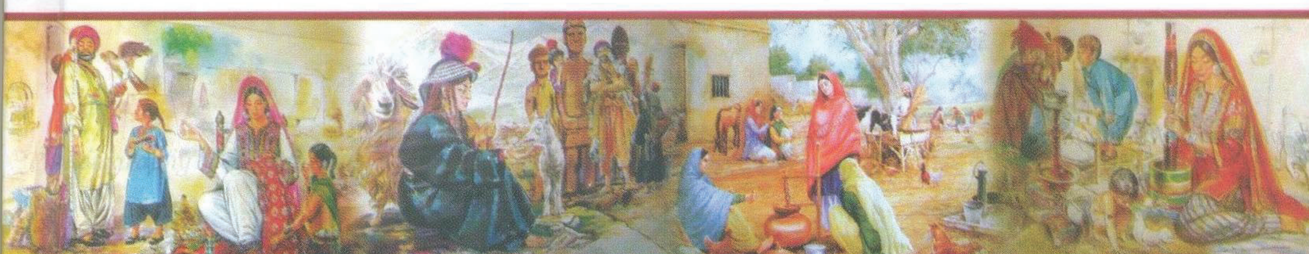
The People of Pakistan

AN ETHNIC HISTORY



By:
Yu. V. Gankovsky

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PREFACE

A good many specific difficulties confront the student of Pakistan. Most of the stages of Pakistan's ethnic history are not documented enough to allow adequate studies. This is due, among other things, to some features peculiar to Pakistan's past that result from the country's long colonial dependence. It is, indeed, in the last few years when the country had become politically independent that research did begin in many of the humanities. The multiplicity of languages in which the historical documents are written is another specific difficulty, which, as A. A. Freiman noted on a similar occasion, "hampers criticism, compelling the scholar to throw himself at the mercy of translations and draw upon secondhand information." [1]

It is the works of Soviet orientalists, notably Academician V. V. Struve, Academician S. P. Tolstov, Academician K. V. Trever, and Professor A. M. Dyakov, as well as the works of S. K. Chatterji, A. H. Dani, K. Enoki, R. Ghirshman and I. H. Qureshi, that have helped me to overcome some of the difficulties peculiar to the study of the major stages of Pakistan's ethnic history.

Among other authors whose studies have helped me a great deal in my treatment of certain aspects of the problems involved, a special acknowledgment is due to I. M. Reisner. I am sincerely grateful to my colleagues at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies: G. M. Bongard-Levin, E. A. Grantovsky, N. A. Dvoryankov, G. F. Ilin, M. A. Korostovtsev, I. M. Oransky, I. D. Serebryakov and L. I. Yurevich for their invaluable advice and remarks. Naturally, no one of the above-mentioned scientists is responsible whatever for the conclusions I have drawn in the present book.

[1] А. А. Фрейман, *Тохарский вопрос и его разрешение в отечественной науке*, стр. 123. For a detailed description of the sources and literature, see Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

In determining the ethnic composition of Pakistan's population, Soviet scientists draw largely upon linguistic data, supplementing and verifying these with evidence on origin, culture, social structure, racial affiliation and other determinants. It is essential to verify linguistic data not only because there is often no direct correspondence between linguistic and ethnic community (and therefore a mere enumeration of the languages which Pakistan's population speaks will give no idea of her ethnic composition) but because of the way the censuses were taken both in independent Pakistan and in colonial India. Only part, or even none, of the population of some of the regions and districts (some principalities and tribal territories) incorporated into Pakistan in 1947, was registered in the colonial period. In the Censuses of 1931 and 1941, the statistics are known to have been distorted deliberately. Another reason why the statistics, both present-day and colonial, are inaccurate is that they have been based not on scientifically evolved objective criteria, but on the subjective estimation of the officials who compiled the official returns.

Thus, there were 1,229,000 speakers of Dogri registered in North-West India in 1891. Their numbers turned out to be 418, 700 in 1921 and dropped to zero in 1951 (according to the censuses of Pakistan and India). How can this phenomenon be explained? The fact is that the compilers of the 1921 returns included in Punjabi the Kangri dialect (which registered 636,500 speakers in 1891) previously taken as a Dogri dialect; in 1951, Dogri as a whole was included in Punjabi. [1]

According to the Pakistan Census of 1951, there were 5,002,000 people whose native language was Pashto (Pakhto); the corresponding figure recorded in the 1961 Census was just 3,343,000

[1] G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 405; *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1, Table 7; *Statistical Abstract of the Indian Union*, pp. 38—39.

Of course, the reason why similar discrepancies occur in the different census records is that the present linguistic boundaries become blurred as the forms of speech consolidate throughout the subcontinent, and not merely that the compilers of the official returns could not demarcate exactly the territorially as well as linguistically related languages and dialects.

people. [2] The explanation is simple enough: the 1961 returns did not record the 3,438,000 population of the so-called tribal belt (the bulk of whom are Pashto speakers).

Furthermore, it has been found necessary to verify the available linguistical data while determining the ethnical make-up of Pakistan's population because the ethnic communities living on the country's territory are in constant flux. Under political independence some major communities (established as long ago as the colonial era) continue to consolidate—a process in which they assimilate, on many occasions, small ethnic communities or separate ethnographic groups.

The Pakistan Censuses of 1951 and 1961 show that there are 24 languages prevalent in the country (excluding English, Persian and Arabic, used either as native languages among small groups of settlers or as auxiliary languages at the top of society). Most of the population of Pakistan's both wings speaks Indo-Aryan (Indian) languages of the Indo-European family: Bengali, Sindhi, Urdu, Gujarati and Rajasthani. In West Pakistan Iranian languages (Pashto and Baluchi) are used widely and there is a comparatively numerous group of speakers of the Dardic languages of the Indo-European family and the Dravidian languages (Brahui). In East Pakistan there are speakers of the Munda or Kol group and the Mon-Khmer group (included by some linguists in the Austro-Asiatic family) as well as speakers of languages of the Assamo-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

The languages of Pakistan differ in distribution widely from one another; the following six major languages are native for 98 per cent of the country's population; Bengali (50 million people in 1961), Punjabi (26.2 million people), Pashto (about 6.8 million people), Sindhi (5 million people), Urdu (3.3 million people) and Baluchi (1 million people). [3] Each of these languages (excluding Urdu) is distributed over a distinct, more or less large, geographical and historical region: East Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the Pashtu lands, which points to the linguistical, territorial and cultural unity of population that has developed historically in each of the regions.

The partition of British India in August 1947 and the formation of Pakistan led to the migration of population, one of the largest in the history of the subcontinent. By mid-1963 the total number of those who had emigrated from India into Pakistan

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[2] *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1, Table 7; *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp IV—31, IV—117.

[3] According to the 1961 figures, the following native languages, besides the six major languages mentioned above, have also been registered: Brahui 365,500 speakers; various languages of the Dardic group (Khowar, Kohistani, Kashmiri, and the so-called Kafir tongues) 43,400 speakers; Austro-Asiatic languages (Santhali and Khasi) 77,400 speakers; Assamo-Burman languages 145, 200 speakers. Cf. *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, Tabl 38, pp. IV—114.

was nearly 10,000,000 people (or 10.8 per cent of the total population);[4] the number of non-Muslims who had emigrated from Pakistan into India exceeded 9,000,000 at that time. Yet the migration that has taken place since 1947 has brought no serious changes in the ethnical pattern of any, except the southern part of Sind, territory incorporated into Pakistan. The reason is that the overwhelming majority of the emigrants were Muslim Punjabis from the East Punjab and adjacent areas[5] who diffused among the West Punjab's population akin to them in language and culture. As to emigrants from other regions of India (first of all, from Northern India whose native language is Urdu) they rushed chiefly into the region of Karachi, because even completely unskilled labour, to say the least of office workers and skilled labour, could find employment more easily in this, one of the most economically developed regions, than anywhere else.

According to the 1961 figures, 98.4 per cent of East Bengal's population speak Bengali as their mother tongue; in the Punjab (including Bahawalpur) the mother tongue for 94.6 per cent of the population is Punjabi; in the Pashtun lands the speakers of Pashto account for no less than 90 per cent of the population; in Baluchistan (excluding the State of Kalat inhabited by the Brahui) Baluchi is the prevailing speech. In the southern part of Sind (in which the city of Karachi is situated) Urdu is now the native language for 51.7 per cent of the population, because large numbers of the Sindhi Hindus[6] have migrated into India to be replaced by Muslims, chiefly the speakers of Urdu; the numbers of Sindhis has, as a result, dropped drastically and accounted for merely 11 per cent of the population of the region of Karachi in 1961. It is true that in most of Sind (in the regions of Hyderabad and Khairpur) Sindhi remains the native language for the bulk of the population as prior to the partition (77.5 and 82.3 per cent respectively).[7]

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[4] *Pakistan 1962—1963*, p. 91.

[5] As early as the beginning of 1951 the number of emigrants from the East Punjab and adjacent areas amounted to about 5,8 million (or 88.9 per cent of all the emigrants that had come into West Pakistan by that time). Of them, 5.3 million had settled down in the West Punjab and Bahawalpur. Cf. *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1, pp. 29—31, Table 5.

[6] Altogether, 800,000 Hindus, most of whom were Sindhis, have emigrated into India from Sind and the State of Khairpur. In 1951, there were 745,400 Sindhis in India (chiefly in the western regions of the country) (*Statistical Abstract of the Indian Union*, p. 38).

[7] *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp. IV—37. Between 1941 and 1951 the number of those whose native language is Sindhi dropped from 3,536,000 to 3,349,000, i. e., by 5.3 per cent, in the Province of Sind and the State of Khairpur, though the population rose by 11.9 per cent during these years. At the same time, the number of those whose native language is Urdu rose from 32,000 to 479,000 (by 1380 per cent), Punjabi from 61,000 to 152,000 (by 147 per cent) and Gujarati from 66,000 to 98,000 (by 45 per cent). Cf. *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1, p. 75; Vol. 6, pp. 104, 108.

The above figures show that the east of Pakistan is much more ethnically uniform than the west. Most of East Pakistan's population (accounting for no less than 98 per cent) are Bengalis, who predominate numerically in all 19 districts of the province.

Numerically, by far the largest group of the un-Bengal population in East Pakistan are emigrants from North India, the speakers of Urdu and Hindi. They are living mainly in the north-western and central parts of East Pakistan and account, by the 1961 statistics, for 0.6 per cent of the population (310,600 people).[8] Other ethnic minorities consist largely of the country's aborigines, whose total numbers do not exceed 500,000.

The districts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi in the north-west of East Pakistan are inhabited by the Santal people (about 50,000) speaking Santali, one of the dialects of the Kherwari language included in the Munda (or Kol) group. The north of Mymensingh and Sylhet districts in the north-east of the province is inhabited by the Khasi people (about 50,000) whose language is included in the Mon-Khmer group, the Garo people (about 40,000), the Hajong or Hojang people (about 35,000) and finally the Dalu people with a population of a few thousand.[9] Garo, Hajong and Dalu are the speakers of Bodo, languages of the Assamo-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

In the south-east, notably in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, there live several small nationalities and tribes[10] of Assamo-Burman origin, accounting for nearly 30 per cent of the district's population. They are Chakma (about 125,000 people living in the valley of the Karnaphuli River and to the north of it), and Marma, or otherwise known as Magh or Mogh (about 70,000 people living south of the Karnaphuli River). The same region is inhabited by the Tipera or Tipura (about 40,000), Mrong or Murung (above 16,000), Tanchaung, Kami, Ryang, Khyang, Bon and Pankho

[8] *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp. IV—38.

[9] For more details see: F. M. Lebar, G. C. Hickey, J. K. Musgrave. *Ethnic Groups of Mainland-Southeast Asia*, pp. 55—57, 105—112.

[10] The above-mentioned Assamo-Burman tribes of East Pakistan (like the Pashtun and Baluchi tribes of West Pakistan which will be discussed below) are by no means consanguine collectives. They are in fact surviving communities of their kind—which is customary within an established feudal nationality or even a consolidating nation—and it is certain peculiarities of the historical development of some Assamo-Burman peoples, as well as Pashtun and Baluchi that have contributed to their survival until the present day. One of the peculiarities was that they had for a long time lacked a statehood of their own; as a result, clan organization had become the only force capable of protecting the life and property of the peasants and craftsmen against the incursions of the rulers of the neighbouring feudal states, and in modern times against the colonialists inroads. The exploiting top of these peoples was to some extent interested in the perpetuation of this organization, since the customs of clan life disguised class contradictions, enabling bands of able-bodied clansmen to be employed as tools of predatory enterprises.

tribes, each numbering a few thousand people, as well as small, unconnected groups of the Lushei or Mizo.[11]

All the above-listed nationalities and tribes are on the whole inferior to the Bengalis, both socio-economically and culturally.[12] Gradual assimilation is at work among part of them. This is indicated by the facts that the Chakma nationality and part of the Hajong nationality are beginning to speak Bengali; that the Marma, Kami, Khyang and other tribes are taking to Bengali script and finally that steady bilingualism is in wide use among these tribes and nationalities—a practice which is indicated, among other things, by the fact that the speakers of Bengali in East Pakistan, by the 1961 figures, were 282,000 people more than those for whom Bengali is the mother tongue (it should be noted that in 1951 the gap was only 120,000—a 135 per cent increase over the decade, even though the province's population has shown a mere 21.2 per cent increase over the same decade).[13]

West Pakistan is not as ethnically uniform as East Pakistan. West Pakistan's population consists of the five major ethnic groups: Punjabis (61 per cent of the province's population as per 1961), Pashtuns (15.8 per cent), Sindhis (11.7 per cent) and Baluchis (2.3 per cent). Emigrants from northern India whose native language is Urdu account for 6.9 per cent of West Pakistan's population.

Most of the Punjabis—above 25,000,000 people or about 95 per cent—are dispersed over the territory of the Punjab Province, and two districts of the North West Frontier Province: Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan.

In these regions the Punjabi predominate numerically throughout all the districts. Also, the Punjabis live in Peshawar, Mardan, northern Sind, Quetta, Loralai and Karachi; but there they constitute a negligible minority (7 to 9 per cent) almost everywhere. The exception is the city of Quetta and the Loralai District where they account for nearly 30 per cent of all the population.

Most of the Pashtuns (up to 6,500,000 or 95 per cent) are living in the Bannu, Kohat, Mardan and Peshawar districts of the

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[11] For more details see: *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 3, Table 7, Supplementary Table 2.

[12] For more details see: Ф. А. Тринич, *Восточный Пакистан*, стр. 72—73; С. А. Маретина, *Малые народы Ассама (этнический состав)*; L. Bernot, *Ethnic Groups of Chittagong Hill Tracts*, pp. 113—140; P. Bessaignet, *Tribes of the Northern Borders of East Pakistan*, pp. 141—187; *Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*; A. B. Rajput, *A Trek in the Hills of Chittagong*, pp. 26—33, 37.

[13] *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1. Tables 7, 7-A; *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp. IV—37.

Between 1951 and 1961, the speakers of Santali and Khasi in East Pakistan dropped from 111,300 to 77,400 and the speakers of the Assamo-Burman branch from 225,400 to 145,200 (*Ibid*).

North West Frontier Province, the Zhob District of the Baluchistan Province, the former Dir and Swat States, and the so-called tribal belt. In all these regions they constitute an absolute majority (from 90 to 99 per cent of the population). The Pashtuns constitute also a majority (about 60 per cent) in the other two districts of the Baluchistan Province: Quetta-Pishin and Loralai. There is a considerable Pashtun minority in the districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara (about 20 per cent of all the population).

A few dozen thousand Pashtuns are living in the Campbellpur and Rawalpindi (the Punjab) and in Sind. but here they do not constitute a compact majority. After 1947, the Pashtun population of Karachi had jumped on account of seasonal workers, and amounted to nearly 150,000 in 1957. [14]

Some remnants of clan organization have survived to the present day among the Pashtuns of West Pakistan (especially in the tribal belt). [15] The largest Pashtun tribes (or rather tribal groups) are: Jusufzais, Mohmands, Afridis, Orakzais, Bannuchis, Marwat, Wazir, Kakar, and Tarin. [16]

Some of the Pashtun *khels* [17] (the so-called *powindah*) spend summer months in Afghanistan and move into West Pakistan, the regions of the North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, the Punjab and Bahawalpur as the winter comes. [18]

The Sindhis inhabit the territory of the Sind Province, the former Khairpur and Las-Bela states and the district of Karachi; more than 96 per cent (about 4,800,000 people) of all the Sindhi population of West Pakistan are living in these regions. In the Kalat State there is also a Sindhi population about 80,000 people (or 29 per cent in 1951); a few thousand Sindhis are living also in Rahimyar Khan, a district of the former Bahawalpur State bordering on Sind.

The Baluchis who inhabit the territory of East Baluchistan (incorporated in West Pakistan) are divided into two groups: the Makrani in the south-west and the Suleimani in the north-east;

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[14] According to the statistics adduced in *The Pakistan Times*, 10 October, 1957. The 1961 Census shows that there are 122,000 Pashtuns in Karachi.

[15] For more details see: J. W. Spain, *The Way of the Pathans*, pp. 47—49.

[16] For the description of some of the tribes see: Л. Р. Гордон, *Аграрные отношения в Северо-Западной пограничной провинции*, приложение I, стр. 186—197; В. А. Ромодин, *Дир и Сват*, стр. 110—129; М. Г. Асланов, В. И. Кочнев, *Пуштуны*, стр. 731—753; *Pathans. The People of Pakistan*.

[17] Among the Pashtuns *khel*—clan, tribal sub-division,—and seldom a tribe itself.

[18] *On powindah see*: М. Г. Асланов, *Афганцы*, В. А. Пуляркин, *Афганистан*, стр. 43—45; И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 68—74 (with a bibliography on *powindah*). In 1961, there were 72.300 *powindah* Pashtuns in West Pakistan (excluding the tribal territory).

with the Kalat District inhabited largely by the Brahui between. There are about 400,000 Baluchis in East Baluchistan; they are predominant in the states of Kharan and Makran (above 90 per cent of the population) and in the Chagai and Sibi districts (about 60 per cent). Above 420,000 Baluchis live in Sind, mainly in the Upper Sind Frontier District, Dadu, Larkana and Nawabshah; however, they have never constituted a majority, even though their numbers are rising very rapidly in these areas. [19] There are 130,000 Baluchis in the Karachi District.

The Baluchis, like the Pashtuns, have preserved some steady survivals of clan organization. They are divided into 18 major tribes (or tribal groups), the largest of which are Marris and Bughtis. [20]

A small Dravida-speaking people—the Braghui—is living also in West Pakistan. By the 1961 Census, there are 350,800 Braghuis. [21] The bulk of them inhabits the central regions of East Baluchistan, namely the Kalat state; there are settlements of Braghuis also in Quetta-Pishin, Sibi, Chagai, Kharan and northern Sind.

A few small nationalities (ethnic groups) whose vernaculars come from the Dardic languages are living in the highland areas of the northern part of West Pakistan. In their customs and social life they have preserved numerous survivals of clan relationship. The Khos or Chitralis, the largest of the groups, (about 95,000 people) constitute the bulk of the population of the Chitral state; about a thousand Khos are living in Kurram. In the Chitral state also there are about three thousand Kafirs and above two thousand Kohistanis. [22] The bulk of Kohistanis (above 60,000) are living on the territory of the Swat state. There are about a thousand Kohistanis on the territory of the north-western Punjab. [23]

There were 2,988,000 emigrants from North India whose mother tongue is Urdu in West Pakistan in 1961 (the figure for 1951 being 2,189,000), but they do not, as has been noted above, constitute a compact majority, except in the southern part of Sind

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[19] Between 1941 and 1951, the numbers of Baluchis in Sind rose from 235,000 to 448,300, or by 88 per cent, chiefly on account of migrants from Baluchistan. In 1951, Baluchis accounted for 30.9 per cent of the population in the Upper Sind Frontier District, 17.1 per cent in Dadu, 14.8 per cent in Larkana, and 10.4 per cent in Nawabshah (*Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 6, pp. 104, 107—108).

[20] For more details see: Э. Г. Гафферберг, *Белуджи и Брагуи*, стр. 773—775; М. Г. Пикулин, *Белуджи*, стр. 191—201.

[21] *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp. IV—39.

[22] Kohistanis (literally, highlanders) is a common name for several small Dardic nationalities (Shina and others).

[23] *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp. IV—29, IV—116. For more details see: М. К. Кудрявцев, *Малые народы Гиндукуша*, стр. 779—782; У. А. Рустамов, *Приэиндукушские княжества Северной Индии*, стр. 10—16; F. Barth, *Indus and Swat Kohistan.*

(Karachi District). The bulk of them had settled in the Punjab and in Sind (largely in the urban centres) where they are today by far the largest ethnic minority.

There are 240,700 Gujaratis also living in West Pakistan. The bulk of them are emigrants from West India. As early as 1951 they accounted for 11.4 per cent of the Karachi Federal Territory's population (127,600 people). About one hundred thousand Gujaratis had settled also in Sind's urban centres.

In the Tharparkar District (Sind), bordering on India, as well as in Nawabshah and Hyderabad, the bulk of West Pakistan's Rajasthanis (whose total number was 153,100 in 1961) are living.

The years that have passed since the formation of Pakistan are marked with further consolidation of the major ethnic communities—the Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhis and Baluchis—inhabiting the western part of the country. The development of economy and culture, the rise of cities, and the population's migrations have combined to make less manifest the regional as well as tribal distinctions between individual components of each of these major ethnic communities. On the other hand, they are assimilating the small ethnic groups which previously kept their own. This process is attested by the wide use of steady bilingualism and the continuous increase in the numbers of those who are in their everyday life using the languages of the major ethnic communities, which constitute the bulk of the indigenous population of West Pakistan, while the provenience of unwritten languages of small ethnic groups is shrinking and their speakers are diminishing. Thus, the number of Sindhi speakers exceeded those whose language was Sindhi by 280,000 in 1951 and by 625,700 in 1961; the corresponding figures for Punjabi being 240,000 and 470,100 and those for Baluchi 132,900 and 159,000.[24]

The available materials enable us to conclude that the processes of ethnical transformation at work in West Pakistan go beyond the linguistic domain, and on certain occasions prompt members of one group of population or another (weaned from the original matrix and found themselves in a strange milieu) to change their former ethnic consciousness.

When describing the ethnical processes under way in West Pakistan it is essential to discuss briefly the Brahui people. This is a small Dravidian-speaking people who have for ages lived amidst the Baluchis, undergoing gradual assimilation. Scholars in the early 20th century noted that all the Brahuis are bilingual; the disappearance of their vernacular and dissolution of the Brahui people within the surrounding ethno-linguistical environ-

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[24] *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1, Tables 7, 7—A; *Census of Pakistan. Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, Table 38—39, pp. IV—114, IV—117.

ment in the nearest future was considered inevitable. [25] The absence of writing and literature in their vernacular have contributed to the assimilation of the Brahuis. The cultural and economic backwardness of the Brahuis, the bulk of whom lived a half-nomadic life, as well as the preservation of clan survivals in their habitat (which were dying hard all because of the same cultural and economic backwardness, which manifested itself, in particular, in the absence of any large settlements of urban type on the Brahui territory that could lend themselves as centres of ethnical consolidation) hindered the formation of a distinct ethnic consciousness among the Brahui people. There has been evidence on some changes in the ethnic consciousness of the Brahui, indicating that the Baluchis were assimilating the Brahuis at comparatively rapid rate. [26] The same is attested by the Brahui's active participation in the Baluchi national movement.

However, new processes in the ethnical development of the Brahui are in evidence in recent years, indicating that along with the assimilation of the Brahui (especially in those areas where they found themselves intermingled in an alien setting) their ethnical consolidation is on the move. As the grave inheritance of the colonial past in Pakistan withers away, the areas inhabited by the Brahui that were the most backward in the past are expanding both economically and culturally. Brahui writing and first fiction works have thus appeared. In 1961, 3,700 literate people among the Brahui were recorded [27] (by the 1951 Census and the colonial statistics there was not a single literate in Brahui). Evidently, the ethnic consciousness of the Brahui has become more distinct,—a process which seems to be attested by a rapid growth in their numbers: from 218,600 in 1951 to 365, 800 in 1961 (i. e. by 66.8 per cent). Since the numbers of the Baluchis rose only by 4 per cent during the same years, there is no doubt that it is only in recent years that a part of the Brahui inseparable from the Baluchi population has assumed an idea about their own, Brahui, ethnos.

* * *

Some Notes on Terms

In describing the historical types of human ethnic community characteristic of different socio-economic formations, the author uses the following terms:

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[25] G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 1, Pt. I, p. 93; E. Hultzsch, *The Brahui Language*, S. 149; (R. Hughes-Buller), *Baluchistan*, pp. 26—27.

[26] Between 1941 and 1951, the numbers of the Brahui in the northern part of Sind dropped from 36,000 to 23,000 or by 36 per cent; the compilers of the 1951 Census attribute this to the assimilation of the Brahui by the Baluchis (*Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 6, pp. 107—108).

[27] *Census of Pakistan, Population, 1961*, Vol. 1, pp. IV—119.

— a clan, tribe and a tribal union (to denote communities existing in the times of clan system and sometimes as was mentioned before, surviving, in a transformed form, within a developed feudal nationality or even a consolidated bourgeois nation);

— a slave-owning nationality [28] (to denote communities characteristic of the slave-owning method of production);

— a feudal nationality (to denote communities of feudalism);

— a bourgeois nation (to denote ethnic communities that developed under capitalism);

— a socialist nation (to denote ethnic communities developing under socialism).

Since there are different (and sometimes conflicting) interpretations of the word nation it is necessary to dwell upon the matter in detail. This is all the more important since the matter is directly connected with the central subject of this book.

First of all, consider the origin of the term nation.

The word nation is known to go as far back as Latin *nascor, natus sum, nasci*, to be born; *natio—onis*, birth. The original word *natio* (closely associated with *cognatio*, blood relationship; *cognatus*, blood kinsman) denoted a group of blood kinsmen. At the dawn of our era, however, the word came to mean a tribe, a tribal union; a people, [29] i. e. it had come to denote an ethnic community and not only blood relationship.

The Latin *natio* came into the languages of West Europe. In the Middle Ages the word was used in a wider sense, meaning a human community related by birth to one locality or living in one country (e. g. *natio* in medieval universities meant a body of students from a particular locality).

Towards the close of the Middle Ages the word *natio* in the form of *nacion* in Old French and in the form of *nacioun* in Middle English was used as a synonym for the word *pueple* or *peple* (from the Latin *populus*, people). [30]

From the dawn of modern times onward the word in the form *nacion—nation* began to be used (at any rate, in the major West-European laguages) not only in the sense of a human community related by origin to a particular country or a common locality of birth, but also in the sense of the country or state in which these people live.

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[28] In Russian the term *narodnost*, which has no exact equivalent in English, is used. To convey the meaning the term nationality has been used provisionally.

[29] Eruditissima Graecorum natio (Cic. De Or., 2, 4, 18). Emperor Augustus built in Rome a portico called *Nationes* which was decorated with pictures of all peoples known to the Romans.

[30] Cf., for example, John de Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, I, 59 (Ed. Babington, London, 1865). John de Trevisa (1326—1412) compiled his work in 1387.

From the French language the word nation came into Russian. [31]

It should be noted, however, that in modern literary Russian the word *нация* (nation) is used in a narrower (special) sense than in West-European languages in which the word is very wide in sense. Thus, in modern English the word nation means: a tribe or federation; also, the territory it occupies; a body of persons having a common origin and language; a body of persons associated with a particular territory, usually organized under a government, and possessing a distinctive cultural and social way of life. The same is true of other West-European languages.

In Russian the word *нация* (nation) is used in one sense only: a steady ethnic community. [32] Figurativelly, it may sometimes mean a state.

The question now arises: What does the term nation connote in the Marxist-Leninist theory of history and how can the distinctive characteristics of the ethnic community it denotes be specified?

The history of human society is held by Marxist historians to be a history of development of the means of production of material benefits. A distinct social system corresponds to a particular phase in the development of production techniques. Any change in production techniques as a result of the development of productive forces leads to changes in the corresponding social system and determines the change of social formations. The change of social formations, however, alters not only a society's economic basis and superstructure (in the form of state and legal institutions, religious and philosophical views, etc.); it also alters the corresponding type (pattern) of human ethnic community that has evolved during the historical development of a given social formation.

The following distinctive features of human ethnic community emerge as the social production of material goods proceeds: community of territory, community of economic life, community of language, community of material and spiritual culture and ethnic consciousness (a sense of identification with a particular ethnic community).

At the same time, each type of ethnic community possesses its own specific features associated with the pattern of development of productive forces and productive relations under one socio-economic formation or other.

It shoud be noted that stable historical types of ethnic communities have nothing in common with human races, which are biological, and not social, communities resulted from the passive adjustment of different groups of human beings to different bio-

[31] В. Даль, *Толковый словарь живаго великарускогo языка*, т. II, СПб. — М., 1881.

[32] «Толковый словарь русского языка», т. II, М., 1938. стр. 462; «Словарь русского языка», т. II, М., 1958, стр. 572.

geographical environments at early stages of development.[33] Nor is religious community related in any way to stable ethnic communities of people.

The first (in point of time) type of stable historical community began to assert itself under clan organization at the turn of the Lower to the Upper Paleolithic period when man as a biological entity has come into his own.[34] As different forms of activity developed and improved, the archaic traits derived from the animal ancestors withered away and Neanderthal man gave room to modern man. This epoch also produced some vital changes in the patterns of human community: clan groups replaced the herds of primitive man. The rise of the clan was a revolutionary step in the history of mankind, ensuring the succession of cultural and social traditions and contributing to the establishment of technological achievements evolved in the course of work.

The exceedingly low, primitive level of development of productive forces determined the pattern of productive relations under clan organization and the corresponding historical type of stable ethnic community. The specific features of this type of community were its classless character and that it was based on clan (consanguine) relations constituting each particular community of individuals. Community of economic life was founded on the collective possession of means of production and on collective work (in the form of a simple cooperative) of all members of a clan; the division of labour was of physico-biological nature and the distribution of labour produce was equal. Community of territory, which is an initial external prerequisite of production, established itself in a natural way, because a clan looked upon land as its inorganic body.[35] Community of language, which had evolved as a product of clan collective and was its salient fact, did not undergo a normalizing influence of writing. Ethnic consciousness and community of culture[36] evolved in the course of work practice of a clan collective were based at the same time on, and determined by, consanguine relationships.

The scarce numbers of clan collectives and their inherent tendency to constant fragmentation stemmed from the low level of development of productive forces.

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[33] For more information see: Н. Н. Чебоксаров, *Основные принципы антропологических классификаций*, стр. 291—322; Я. Я. Рогинский, *Основные антропологические вопросы в проблеме происхождения современного человека*. стр. 153—204; *Некоторые проблемы происхождения человека*, стр. 11—17.

[34] For more information see: М. Ф. Нестурх, *Происхождение человека*, стр. 321—349; Ю. И. Семенов, *Как возникло человечество* (with a bibliography on this matter).

[35] К. Маркс, *Формы, предшествующие капиталистическому производству*, стр. 25 (Russ. transl).

[36] When discussing community of culture, we define culture as a totality of everything that mankind has created during its historical development.

As productive forces advanced in clan system, man abandoned hunting and foraging and took to settled land cultivation and cattle breeding in certain areas and above all in those areas where the environments were favourable. The first public division of labour and, as a corollary, barter emerged. At the same time, increasing population density compelled clan collectives to stand together more closely both within the clan and in their deals with the surrounding world. Kindred clans living in neighbouring areas began to pull together and in this way tribes holding these areas, bearing their own name and speaking a distinct dialect arose. In addition to tribes, which form at the final phase of the clan method of production, a more complex social organization emerges: the evidence of ethnography indicates that it is in this period that the institution of elected chieftains and elected tribe councils comes into existence.

This epoch embracing the Mesolithic and Neolithic Ages is characterized by an unprecedented development of productive forces. On the other hand, this was an epoch of incessant armed clashes. Amidst this unending hostility unions of territorially related tribes arise. War and accompanying plunder make stronger the authority and power of clan chiefs and chieftains. In a society innocent of dominance and oppression, cardinal socio-economic changes become imminent.

The emergence of metal tools gave an immense scope to man's productive abilities. With further growth of productive forces, man was now able to produce the social surplus. On the other hand, it was now possible to accumulate the social surplus through the exploitation of human labour.

The expansion of class relationships undermined those foundations on which clan organization rested and at the same time altered and modified, slow but steadily, the institutions basic to clan system. "...what had originally been a naturally-grown democracy was transformed into a hateful aristocracy".[37] Society had broken down into antagonistic classes.

As clan organization gave way to a new system based on the exploitation of man by man, tribes, and tribal unions transformed into a new type of community basic to class society, namely slave-owning or (if society reaches feudalism omitting slave formation in the sequel) feudal nationalities.

The stable ethnic communities which arise in the times of slave-owning and feudal methods of production—slave-owning and feudal nationalities — are socially heterogeneous communities. Furthermore, each of the communities has its own specific class structure as belonging to different socio-economic formations. Thus, a slave-owning nationality is a historically established

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[37] F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, p. 100.

stable ethnic community whose major classes are slave-owners and slaves. A feudal nationality is also a community of antagonistic classes; but its major classes are lords or landowners and peasants lacking social equality and privileges.

Yet slave-owning and feudal nationalities possess the same distinctive features as a clan community; but these features have some qualitative differences.

Community of economic life is no longer based on the collective holding of means of production and collective labour, but on the expanding public division of labour (manifest in the separation of craftsmanship from land cultivation, in the specialization of farming production and in the separation of town from village) and on the rudiments of commodity production. Consanguine relationships lose their former dominating estate, giving way to territorial ties.

Community of languages assumes a different character as well: languages of nationalities take the place of tribal dialects. The rise of writing contributes to the fixing of these languages (or their individual dialects) and to the establishment of literary norms, which are sometimes a far cry from the spoken speech.

Community of culture also changes, since the culture of a nationality is a class culture. Freed from the necessity to toil, the exploitating top of society not only guides the development of culture for their own advantages, but also leaves on it the mark of their way of life. At the same time, certain specific differences (regional peculiarities) in the culture of a given nationality arise by virtue of the irregular character of economic ties connecting the separate parts of the territory on which a given nationality is dispersed as well as by virtue of all kinds of differences in the economic-cultural types basic to one area or other.

Many survivals of clan organization are known to have lingered hand in hand with the slave-owning way of production (as well as the feudal way which began to gain ground in the first centuries of our era). In the domain of ideology these survivals were especially hard to kill thereby handicapping the formation of ethnic consciousness. It is evidently because the lingering clan institutions hindered the ethnic transformation of initial clan elements that on many occasions, especially in slavary times, it took such a long time for the ethnic processes to develop into a nationality, and the nationalites that began to take shape were easy to fall to pieces. Even when the nationalities had amalgameted and attained ethnic consciousness (a sense of identification with a particular nationality), this sense of identification often continued to keep company with the unflagging memories of descent from a common clan or tribe.

The growth of productive forces within feudal society resulted in the birth of capitalist production and capitalist polity. The development of this polity and the formation of new social

classes—bourgeoisie and proletariat—paved the way for the emergence of a new historical type of human community—the bourgeois nation.

In studying the formation of bourgeois nations we are first of all confronted with the questions: where, when and at what phase of development did the feudal nationality transform into a bourgeois nation?

We find the answer in V. Lenin's works in which he indicates that the establishment of national ties was nothing but the establishment of bourgeois ties. "Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development." [38]

It is with the rise of capitalist enterprise that the transformation of feudal nation into a bourgeois nation begins. As capitalist relationships gain more ground, new social classes come into existence. It is indeed when the two major classes of bourgeois society, namely bourgeoisie and proletariat, develop within a given feudal nationality, that a bourgeois nation does arise (even if certain survivals of pre-capitalist productive relationships remain).

The features basic to a bourgeois nation are fundamentally different from those basic to the preceding types of stable historical ethnic communities.

Community of economic life that takes shape during the development of capitalism is based on the territorial division of labour and on capitalist commodity production which gathers the small local markets of feudalism into a signle national market.

Community of economic life expands and matures as capitalist relationships grow and gain ground, and finally results in that the ties between individual sections of the national territory become regular and sustained. Feudal disintegration thus becomes doomed. At the same time the irregularity of economic development of separate regions and the growth of cities combine to bring about considerable migrations of population within the national territory. This entails the erasion of differences between separate dialects and the formation of national linguistic norms. The differences between literary and spoken languages become blurred. Economic and political concentration leads to the concentration of dialects into a single national language. The language of a feudal nationality turns into the language of a bourgeois nation. Even though the irregularities of economic and cultural development of separate regions, as well as dialectic differences, fail to die out because of town-and-village contrast inherent in capitalism, the national linguistic norms embodied in literature exercise a definite impact on the development of local dialects.

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[38] V. I. Lenin, *Karl Marx*, p. 46.

In the course of development of capitalism the gap in culture between the populations of separate regions is bridged as the national territory continues to consolidate, and the propagation of standard manufactures, the development of printing, etc. are major contributing factors. On the other hand, the cultural community inherent in a bourgeois nation is of dual and conflicting nature, since it is comprised of elements of democratic and socialist culture whose authors are exploited working masses, and of bourgeois culture, the culture of the exploiting class, as a dominating culture. [39]

In ethnic consciousness definite changes are also in evidence. Economic cohesion, as it becomes stronger, fosters the desire to overcome feudal disintegration and unite the national territory into a single centralized and independent state, because a national state offers better conditions for the development of capitalism. As F. Engels put it, there were fairly material grounds to strive for a united fatherland. [40] National consciousness forged during the development of bourgeois society bears the brandmark of the social relationships that have given birth to it: along with a progressive, democratic, anti-feudal and emancipating current, there are features of national narrow-mindedness and exceptionalness born of the jingoistic and dominating tendencies basic to bourgeois class.

The demolition of the capitalist way of production during proletariat revolutions and national-liberation campaigns of the peoples enslaven by imperialism heralds a new era in the history of mankind. This social revolution gives rise to a new, communist society, the first phase of which is socialism. In the transitory period from capitalism to socialism the exploitating classes are liquidated, a country's national economy is re-constructed on socialist lines and cultural revolution is brought about. The historical type of ethnic community of people, too, undergoes vital changes in this period: socialist nations come into existence.

Community of economic life basic to a socialist nation is based on the national socialist property of means and tools of production and on the planned development of the economy in order to satisfy the growing needs of the working people as fully as possible. The territory division of labour that is still in evidence is fundamentally different from that under capitalism, because the former is based on the principles of socialist specialization and cooperation and has as its objective the most rational organization of public production, the maximum acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

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[39] V. I. Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, p. 20.
[40] Ф. Энгельс, *Роль насилия в истории*, стр. 424 (Russ. transl.)

Fundamental changes in the class structure of society, the gradual erasion of difference between working class and peasants, between town and village, the overcoming of economic backwardness of certain regions, the reinforcement of versatile relationships between different sections of the territory on which a socialist nation is arising, the liquidation of illiteracy, and the thriving of science and culture lead all to the gradual disappearance of dialectic differences that have existed under capitalism and to the formation of the really all-people single language of a socialist nation. The material and spiritual culture of the people becomes permeated with socialist meaning. Changes also take place in ethnic consciousness in which a sense of patriotism dovetails with a sense of international solidarity of all working people, and friendship between nations. Bourgeois national inertness and isolationism come to an end.

At the same time, offering limitless opportunities for the development of socialist nations, socialism thereby paves the way for their unification. As socialist construction is well under way and communist society is being built, the spiritual features common to all socialist nations are evolving and the tendency for their consolidation and cohesion becomes ever stronger. The territorial borderlines between socialist nations cease to be, the national forms of their cultures undergo transformation, and an international culture common to all socialist nations is on the move. "The aim of socialism is not only to end the division of mankind into tiny states and the isolation of nations in any form, it is not only to bring the nations closer together, but to integrate them." [41] The merging of socialist nations is a prolonged historical process. Initiated in the present epoch, the process will result in the formation of the communist type of ethnic community when the construction of communism is complete and triumphant all over the globe.

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[41] V. I. Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, p. 146.

Chapter One

THE EARLIEST POPULATION OF THE NORTHERN PART OF THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUBCONTINENT

Archaeological evidence shows that man inhabited the territory of the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (incorporated into West Pakistan in August 1947) as early as the close of the first interglacial period. The same evidence enables us to bring to light the milestones of historical development of the earliest population in Paleolithic times.

The most primitive implements found in Pakistan and India are eoliths (large stone flake tools of the so-called Pre-Soan type) unearthed on the Potwar Plateau, in the valleys of the Soan (Sohan) River (Rawalpindi District, the West Punjab), the Jhelum River and the tributaries of the Chenab River. They are held to date from early Paleolithic times. More advanced tools of pebbles and nodules, termed the Early Soan or massive pebble tools, have been found in the valleys of the Soan and the Indus Rivers. [1]

The discovery of stone flakes and blades in some places between the Salt Range and Simla, on one side, and Poonch and Rohtas, on the other, furnishes the clues to the next stage in the development of the Paleolithic industry of the north-western part of the subcontinent. All of them are of the so-called Late Soan type. Thus, archaeological evidence shows that the Stone-Age autochthonous industry was a continuous process, passing through a sequence of interrelated stages from the Lower to the Upper Paleolithic. [2]

The transition from the Lower to the Upper Paleolithic is known to have heralded the most vital period in the evolution of mankind. Man had come into his own as a biological species, and man's cultural development had made dramatic advances, involving some major achievements in the manufacture of stone and bone tools and some serious changes in man's psychological make-up. The Upper Paleolithic is the dawn of art, and there is

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[1] R. E. M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, pp. 15—16; T. T. Paterson, H. J. H. Drummond, *Soan. The Paleolithic of Pakistan*.

[2] For more information see: V. D. Krishnaswami, "Stone Age India", pp. 11—42.

good reason to suppose that it is in this period that the first religious concepts arise.

In the forms of human communities, too, radical transformation is in evidence. On the strength of the research undertaken by a few generations of historians, ethnographers and sociologists, we venture to contend that it is in this period that the human genus and clan take shape.

In the Upper Paleolithic, which lasted a few dozen millennia, major or primary human races formed as mankind made the first attempts to inhabit the ecumene and "adapted themselves to different living conditions and different bio-geographical environments".[3] The Eurasian (or Europoid) major race takes shape in the north-west of the ecumene and the Asian (or Mongoloid) major race in the north-east of it.

The evidence of paleoanthropology and anthropology on the modern population of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent shows that the earliest inhabitants of the territory were of the Equatorial or Negro-Australoid major race, which had evolved "on the vast expanses of the tropical belt of the African and Asian continents".[4]

In the Upper Paleolithic, the first local types of human culture emerge, whose peculiarity is connected with the prolonged and isolated development of rather large groups of population. Archaeologists content that in the Upper Paleolithic, much of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, together with Africa and Western Asia, constituted a single Caspian "cultural province". The exception is the Punjab where the Upper Paleolithic industry reveals certain features common with the contemporaneous stone industry of the northern foothills of the Pamirs and the areas of Eastern Asia farther north-east and east.[5]

Of the Paleolithic of the north-eastern part of the subcontinent we know less. Recent research, however, enables us to trace, step by step, the development of the indigenous Paleolithic industry; the available evidence points to the local origin of the Upper Paleolithic cultures of the north-eastern part of the subcontinent, which are intimately connected with the Upper Paleolithic Cultures of the rest of India.[6]

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[3] Н. Н. Чебоксаров, *Основные принципы антропологических классификаций*, стр. 306.

[4] *Ibid.*, стр. 130. For more information see: Я. Я. Рогинский, *Основные антропологические вопросы в проблеме происхождения современного человека*, стр. 153—204.

In the opinion of some anthropologists, the Negro-Australoid racial type (in relict forms) has survived to this day among the population of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (see, for example, J. Schwidetzky, *Die "Australoiden" in Indien*).

[5] Г. Ф. Дебец, *Заселение Южной и Передней Азии по данным антропологии*, стр. 358—359.

[6] A. H. Dani, *Prehistory and Protohistory of Eastern India*, p. 32; D. Sen. G. S. Ray, A. K. Ghosh, "Paleoliths from Manbhum and Singhbum", pp. 10—18; A. K. Ghosh, "Prehistoric Studies in Eeastern India", pp. 370, 372.

Next to the Upper Paleolithic came the Mesolithic period (ap proximately the fifteenth and sixth millennia B. C.) which coincides with the close of the Glacial epoch in the northern part of the subcontinent.

The Mesolithic period marked a further step in the development of productive forces; the bow and arrows were invented and new types of stone implements, known as microliths, manufactured for use as inserts. At the close of the Mesolithic the first ceramic artifacts emerged. It is in this period that the first animals were domesticated and the first attempts made in the cultivation of land. Fishing began to play a major part in man's economic activity. Advances in productive forces allowed a portion of the population to settle down, more or less permanently.

Numerous settlements of hunters and fishermen of the Mesolithic period have been uncovered in Gujarat, Kathiawar, Upper Sind near Sukkur, Rohri and other areas of this part of the subcontinent. [7] The fragments of single human skeletons unearthed in these areas give no definite ground to describe the anthropological character of the settlements' inhabitants. There are some scholars, however, who suppose that the above-mentioned similarity between the Upper Paleolithic cultures of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and the contemporaneous cultures of Africa and Western Asia (which lingered into the Mesolithic period) can be explained by the filiation of their authors. [8]

Nor do we possess any recorded evidence on the languages of this ancient population. Yet, some scholars conjecture that typologically they may have been related to the languages of the Andamanese, Papuans and Australia's aborigines, as well as other ethnic groups are usually regarded as the descendants of the earliest tribes who once occupied the equatorial part of the ecumene. [9]

The evidence of anthropology and archaeology indicates that in the Mesolithic period the members of the Eurasian, or Europoid, major race who had come from the north-west plunged into the province of the Negro-Australoid anthropological types. From the contact of the two, the Dravidian group of anthropological types, [10] which belongs to the southern Europoid (or Indo-Mediterranean) minor race, came into existence on the territory of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent at the close of the Mesolithic period.

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[7] R. E. M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*, pp. 81—82.

[8] V. D. Krishnaswami, "Stone Age India", p. 36.

[9] N. N. Cheboxarov, A. A. Zubov, "The Main Problem of the Ethnic Anthropology in India", p. 8.

[10] Г. Ф. Дебец, *Заселение Южной и Передней Азии по данным антропологии*, стр. 368; В. П. Алексеев, *Антропологический состав населения древней Индии*, стр. 21, 26. No direct analogies should, of course, be drawn between the anthropological group of the late Mesolithic that we provisionally call the Dravidian and the modern Dravidian (or Dravida) peoples of South India.

It is necessary to note that the intermixture of the two major races and the formation of the Dravidian group of anthropological types proceeded more vigorously in the external (north-western, western and south-western) zones of the subcontinent. In the interior the process was at a low ebb and the anthropological types of the Negro-Australoid race (Veddoid, or Ceylon-Zondian, groups) survived there.

On the north-eastern edges of India members of the Asian, or Mongoloid, major race appeared at the end of the period under review. Their contact with the earliest Negro-Australoid population of the area seems to be attested in the Mongoloid features found in the anthropological character of the Munda nationalities, which belong as a whole to the Negro-Australoid race.

There were a number of vital historical processes at work in primitive society that were responsible for the formation of the racially mixed anthropological types on the territory of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. With the close of the Glacial period, man's bio-geographical environments became more favourable and this gave rise to population growth in the inhabited areas. Relative overpopulation was inevitable if we take into account the extensive pattern of primitive economy. This prompted man to disperse over undeveloped and unsettled areas. Advances in tool manufacture in the Mesolithic period contributed to man's expansion. The unsurpassable barriers that had for ages kept the major races in comparative isolation fell.

Changes in the anthropological character of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent's inhabitants were thus nothing but the reflection of the major historical processes that proceeded in primitive society at the turn of the Mesolithic to the Neolithic period.

The dawn of the Neolithic period in the northern part of the subcontinent is thought by archaeologists to date from about the sixth millennium B. C.[11] The studies made as long ago at the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries have established that in Neolithic times nearly the whole of the subcontinent's north, ranging from Baluchistan to Bengal, was already inhabited, as population growth and expansion was rather rapid.

That was the prime of Stone-Age Civilization of the subcontinent; this civilization resulted from the progress of the preceeding microlithic cultures of the Mesolithic period. In the areas where the natural environments were favourable, bands of hunters and fishermen took to farming. The first farming oases seem to have sprung in the mountain valleys of small rivers in the north-west of the subcontinent.[12] The remains of Neolithic settlements of that period unearthed in these areas show that their inhabitants

[11] D. V. Krishnaswami, "Stone Age India", p. 39.

[12] The valleys of the large rivers — the Indus and its tributaries — had been cultivated in a later epoch which is associated with the rise and growth of a complex system of artificial irrigation.

dwelt in stone-and-adobe buildings and were good at pottery (though they did not know the potter's wheel). They domesticated the dog, sheep and goat. Regular geometric forms are a distinctive feature of the microlithic industry of North-West India. Carbon analysis enables us to date these settlements to the latter half of the fourth millennium B. C. [13]

Archaeological excavations throughout West Pakistan bring to light the unfolding of the close-knit autochtonous farming cultures. Whatever local peculiarities basic to individual groups of population may be, the entire territory may be regarded as a single cultural and historical province. Archaeological evidence also shows that at the close of the Neolithic period and at the turn from the Stone Age to the Copper Age the farming cultures of north-western India were intimately connected with the contemporaneous cultures of Iran, southern Afghanistan, Iraq and the southern areas of Middle Asia. [14] Taken together, they constitute a vast cultural zone known as the Painted Ware Culture. [15]

The Neolithic cultures of north-eastern India can be grouped into two major complexes traceable as far back as Mesolithic times: the culture of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the culture of Assam. [16] The East-Indian Stone-Age Culture, also rooted in Mesolithic times, takes shape in the Ganges-Mahanadi doab at the close of the Neolithic period. The autochtonous pattern of the cultures does not rule out their intercourse with the contemporaneous local cultures in other areas of the subcontinent, as well as in South-East Asia. There is good reason to suppose that in Neolithic times North-East India and the areas of the Indo-China Peninsula to the east of it were a zone of fairly related cultures; [17] the authors of these cultures seem to have belonged to the tribes which comprised both Australoid (Austro-Asian) tribes and tribes

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[13] R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 10. For more information see: W. A. Fairservis, *Excavations in the Quetta Valley...*; *Archaeological Surveys in the Zhob and Loralai Districts*. The rise of the first farming settlements in southern Afghanistan also dates from the latter half of the fourth millennium B. C. (see: J. M. Casal, "Quarte campagnes de fouilles à Mundigak...," pp. 163—178).

[14] H. Mode, *Das Frühe Indien*, S. 18—37. See also; В. М. Массон, *Древнеземледельческие племена южного Туркменистана*, стр. 45—47; *Поселение бронзового века в южном Афганистане*, стр. 269—270. J.-M. Casal, "Mundigak as a Link Between Pakistan and Iran in Prehistory", pp. 1—12; W. A. Fairservis, *Excavations in the Quetta Valley...*, p. 169; J.-M. Casal, *Fouilles de Mundigak*, Vol. I, pp. 98—110.

[15] Academician V. V. Struve pointed out that "the affinity of the earliest farming cultures (the Painted Ware Cultures — *Yu. G.*) can be explained both by similarity in the development of productive forces and by their intercourse" (see his introduction to: Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 7 (Russ. transl.).

[16] A. H. Dani, *Prehistory and Protohistory of Eastern India*, p. 223.

[17] For more information see: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Д. В. Деопик, *К проблеме происхождения народов мунда*, стр. 54—55; *Археологические работы в Индии*, стр. 190.

with an admixture of Mongoloid elements. Hunting, fishing and foraging remained, as far as the available evidence goes, major preoccupations of the authors of the Neolithic cultures of the north-east of the subcontinent.

Since not all areas of the northern part of the subcontinent began to cultivate land and breed animals simultaneously, the close of the Neolithic period saw divergences in the rates of social and cultural development between the groups which had taken to settled land cultivation and cattle raising and the groups which had clung on account of different factors (e. g. unfavourable bio-geographical environments) to hunting, fishing and foraging.

Differences in man's economic activities also affected the rates of population growth in different regions: the population of the farming oases grew more rapidly than that of the hunting-fishing periphery.

The Painted Ware period in the Indus Valley was that of vigorous progress in productive forces. Archaeological evidence attests the growth of land cultivation during the dissolation of primitive-clan organization. The manufacture of stone implements reached its climax at that time. The extant fragments of pottery show that pottery was on the upgrade. The building of houses also made massive progress. At the close of the period the first artifacts of copper and bronze appeared. [18]

A population typical of that epoch has been uncovered during the excavations at Kot Diji (east of the Indus, and some 15 miles south of Khairpur). Carbon analysis has dated the settlement to the twenty-eighth and twenty-sixth centuries B. C., [19] i.e., a time closely preceding the rise of class-society civilization in the Indus Valley. In this connection it is worthwhile to note that a massive fortress wall surrounds the stone-and-adobe houses of the settlement. [20]

The available evidence does not afford us to give an ethnic characteristic of the authors of the aeneolithic culture in the basin of the Indus in the late fourth and the early third millennia B. C. Nevertheless, the pattern of the culture being such, there is no doubt whatever that the fortified settlements (as Kot Diji) were centres of tribal unions or confederacies territorially related to the tribes which had taken shape in the time of decay of primitive-clan organization.

At the dawn of the third millennium B. C. class society wa in the process of emerging and the first state formations arose in

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[18] W. A. Fairservis, *Excavations in the Quetta Valley...*, p. 231.

[19] R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 15. The Kot Diji excavations have shown that the settlement fell to a war ravage and went to ruin in the resulting fire. (F. A. Khan, *Preliminary Report on Kot Diji Excavations...*, p. 17).

[20] H. Mode, *Das Frühe Indien*, S. 33; F. A. Khan, *Preliminary Report on Kot Diji Excavations...*, pp. 9—12; *Excavations at Kot Diji*.

the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries. In the north-west of the subcontinent, one of the oldest human civilizations—the Indus Valley Civilization, called provisionally the Harappan Civilization,— comes upon the stage.

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The Harappan Civilization occupied a vast territory stretching 1,100 *km* from north to south (from the foot hills of the Siwalik Mountains to the Tapti River) and the same distance from west to east (from Quetta in Baluchistan to Bikaner in Rajasthan and Alamgirpur in the Upper Ganga-Jamuna doab). Dozens of settlements, both urban and rural, have been unearthed on the territory. The most important of the known centres of the Harappan Civilization were Harappa (on the left bank of the Ravi River, the district of Sahiwal, the West Punjab), Mohenjo-Daro (the district of Larkana, Sind), Chanhu-Daro (the district of Nawabshah, Sind), Rupar (south of the Sutlej River, the East Punjab), Rangpur (the Kathiawar Peninsula), and Kalibangan (northern Rajasthan); Shahi-Tump in the valley of the Kej (Makran) seems to have been the far-western outpost of the Harappan Civilization. [21]

The Indus Valley Civilization thus seems to have embraced a far larger area than the ancient civilizations of the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia. It is established that the Indus Valley served as a major territorial nucleus whence the civilization was spreading eastward down the Indus's left tributaries, southward along the subcontinent's western coast and westward along the coast of Makran.

Archaeological evidence enables us to bring out the successive periods of the Harappan Civilization and gives a convincing indication that although the civilization was a close-knit unity there may have been local cultural differences and peculiarities in different areas. Among the areas that can already be isolated are: Kalibangan, Rangpur-Lothal, Rupar-Alamgirpur, north-eastern Baluchistan, etc. [22] The opinion expressed by some scholars that

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[21] The major results of the pre-war excavations have been summarized in the following works: J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization...*, Vols. I—III; M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*; E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-Daro Excavations, 1935—1936*; Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*; S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India...* For the works dealing with recent archaeological research, see: B. B. Lal, *Indian Archaeology Since Independence*; R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*; A. Ghosh, *A Survey of the Recent Progress...*, pp. 40—50; Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Древние культуры*; Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Г. Ф. Ильин, *Древняя Индия*, М., 1969.

[22] Cf., for example, K. N. Puri, *Lothal, an Indus Valley Site in Saurashtra*, pp. 51—57; B. B. Lal, *A New Indus Valley Provincial Capital...*, pp. 454—457; A. Ghosh, "A Survey of the Recent Progress...," p. 44; *Indian Archaeology*, 1960—61, p. 31; *Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Nos. 18—19.

the Indus Civilization was uniform and stagnant should thus be rejected.

The origin of the Harappan Civilization has long been a matter of keen dispute. Some argued that it had not grown on local soil, but had been brought into the Indus Valley by invaders from outside. [23] There have been attempts to prove that the invaders were "an ancient Indo-European people on the scene of world history" who made inroads into the north-western part of the subcontinent in the early third millennium B. C. [24] Some Pakistan historians seek to prove that the civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro owes its origin to some Aryan tribes who penetrated into the Indus Valley in antiquity. [25] Other scholars, referring to the relations of Proto-Indian Civilization with the ancient civilization of Western Asia, and in particular with the Sumerian Civilization, denied the originality of the Indus Civilization and regarded the Harappan Culture merely as an eastern branch, a provincial variant of the Sumerian Culture. [26]

In the light of recent scientific data all these views should be revised. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Indus Civilization had sprung on local soil and was the outcome of the progressive historical development of the autochthonous farming cultures of the north-western part of the subcontinent. [27]

Autochthonous as it was, the Indus Civilization may of course, have had relations, and even affinities, with the synchronous civilizations of Western Asia, and above all with the civilization of ancient Sumer. [28] What makes the Indus Civilization appear akin to the Sumerian Civilization seems to be their common economic basis (both in the Indus Valley and in Mesopotamia irrigational land cultivation and cattle breeding formed the backbone of their economy [29]) as well as the regular and continuous relations between the towns of Sumer and ancient centres of north-western India. [30] Even if the Indus Civilization had, as a

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[23] Cf., for example, Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 33, 35, 130.

[24] Б. Грозный, *Протоиндийские письмена и их расшифровка*, стр. 31.

[25] Cf., for example, K. A. Rashid, "New Light on Ancient History of Pakistan", p. 67.

[26] Cf., for example, H. S. David, *Some Further Contacts and Affinities...*, pp. 59—62.

[27] R. E. M. Wheller, "Harappa 1946...", p. 59; A. Fairservis, *Excavations in the Quetta Valley...*, p. 355; *Before Mahenjo-Daro*, p. 866.

[28] R. E. M. Wheeler, "Harappa 1946...,", pp. 59—60, 76; Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, pp. 42—43, 56, 64, 76, ff. Some indisputable relations can also be traced between the Indus Valley and the Elamite culture (*Op. cit*, pp. 99, 130).

[29] V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East.*

[30] Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 137; И. М. Дьяконов, *Общественный и государственный строй древнего двуречья*, стр. 159, 165; *Новые данные о шумерской культуре*, стр. 108—109; E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, Vol. II, p. 736; S. N. Kramer, *Die Suche nach dem Paradies*, S. 311—317.

result of these relations, imbibed some of the features of the Sumerian Civilization, this by no means points to its dependent character, for the internal economic and social development of society is the essence of historical progress. This development offers a medium in which some features or other can be assimilated and alien cultures can exercise influence in one way or other; without such internal development no cultural assimilation would be possible.

An integrated study of the earliest Indus Valley Culture shows that it was "not inferior to the culture of the Sumerian city-states between the fourth and the third millennia B. C.". [31] Although the ancient Harappan writing has not yet been deciphered [32] and hence neither a comprehensive characteristic of the Indus society's social structure nor an analysis of the inherent forms of statehood or a history of their development can be given at the present time, the available materials enable some scholars to draw the conclusion that the Indus Civilization was a civilization of early slave-owning society. [33]

With the building of a class society in the Indus Valley came some important qualitative changes in the historical pattern of the ethnic community inhabiting the north-western part of the subcontinent. In the populous centres of trade and craft of the Indus Valley (Mohenjo-Daro's population was no less than 100,000) the tribal isolation and differences of the town citizens and of the neighbouring countryside who gravitated towards the centres were going to pieces. Tribal relationships by blood and marriage were waning, giving way to ever more strengthening territorial ties. As the slave formation established itself, the tribes and tribal unions that had developed in the area at the final stages of development of the primitive-clan mode of production were consolidated into a Proto-Indus slave-owning nationality (or several nationalities related in language and culture).

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[31] В. В. Струве, *Предисловие к книге: Э. Маккей, Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 25.

[32] For a history of the main stages in the study and deciphering of the Proto-Indus writing, as well as for a description of the recent progress made by Soviet scholars in this field, see: *Предварительное сообщение об исследованиях протоиндийских текстов*; Н. В. Гуров, Т. Е. Катенина, *Новый этап в изучении протоиндийских надписей*, стр. 171—178.

[33] Academician V. V. Struve points out that "the society of Harappa was a slave-owning one akin to the society of Sumer". Since the Indus Valley state came into existence at a time when the foundations of the primitive-clan system had not yet died out, it "could easily have taken the form of despotism» (*op. cit.*, pp. 23—24). In another work, written in collaboration with N. V. Pigulevskaya, Struve defines the production relations that had developed in the Indus Valley state "as semi-slave-owning, semi-patriarchal" («Проблема кризиса рабовладельческого строя и генезиса феодализма», стр. 187). For social inequality in the Harappan society (as shown by archaeological evidence) see: R. E. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 57; "Harappa, 1946...," pp. 74—77.

What makes us be sure that the Proto-Indus nationality or several related nationalities did exist? First of all, it is a manifest homogeneity of the Proto-Indus Civilization. This homogeneity indicates that there was the territorial and cultural community of its makers developed in the course of history and that there were definite, comparatively stable economic relationships between them. The homogeneity of the Harappan Civilization could only have developed during centuries of cultural and economic association of different regions within the vast domain of the civilization. [34] The historian has good reason to regard the Indus basin's population "who had created this wide-spread culture as a nationality similar to the Sumerian or ancient Egyptian nationality, and not merely as an isolated group of individual tribes almost unrelated with one another". [35]

Diverse contacts between the different tribes inhabiting the Indus Valley seem to have led, on the one hand, to the integration of kindred tribal dialects, and, on the other, to the assimilation of the language of one of the tribal groups by the other groups. How far the language of the Proto-Indus nationality had developed, no one today can tell. Dialectal differences in speech, to be sure, did not (and indeed could not) disappear, but one of the dialects committed to writing may have become *lingua franca* in the realm of the Harappan Civilization.

Ethnic affiliation of the creators of the ancient Indus Valley Culture is still a matter of dispute. The available anthropological data are few; for this reason the anthropological character of the population of the valley of the Indus and its tributaries cannot be regarded as a matter settled once and for all. The only fact that seems certain is that as late as the fourth to the third millennia B. C. the Indus Valley's population was fairly uneven. [36] Of course, types belonging to the Southern Europoid (or Indo-Mediterranean) minor race prevailed; some scholars hold that these anthropological types had traits common with the ancient population of Mesopotamia and South-Western Iran. [37] There is not doubt that Proto-Australoid (Negro-Australoid) types also occurred. Some facts point to the existence of Mongoloid admixture, [38] but they demand further study and verification. Thus a

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[34] Archaeological evidence shows that this homogenity resulted from a synthesis of the local cultural traditions (cf., for example; S. K. Dikshit, *An Introduction to Archaeology*).

[35] В. В. Струве *Предисловие к книге: Э. Маккей, Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 25.

[36] Cf., for example, J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization...*, Vol. I, pp. 107—108.

[37] Cf., for example, W. M. Krogman & W. H. Sassaman in: E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-Daro Excavations 1935—1936*, pp. 256—257; Also cf.; В. П Алексеев, *Антропологический состав населения Древней Индии*, стр. 25—26.

[38] E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-Daro Excavations 1935—1936*, p. 259.

large diversity of the component anthropological types is characteristic of the Proto-Indus nationality. This indicates that tribes of different origin made up the nationality which gave birth to the Harappan Civilization. In the settled agricultural economy involving, as it did, artificial irrigation it took not long for these heterogeneous elements to have fused into a homogeneous ethnic community. Now, is it possible to give a linguistic classification of the Proto-Indus ethnic community?

It has long been conjectured in the literature that in the epoch preceding the coming of Indo-Europeans (Indo-Aryans) in the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, i. e., earlier than the middle of the second millennium B. C., the territory was occupied by a population speaking a language (or languages) of the Dravidian family.[39] Also it is possible that a Dravidian-speaking population occupied a vast area to the north-west and to the west of that territory.

The following facts support the conjecture.

The presence of indisputable relationships between the Dravidian languages and the languages of the ancient Western Asia[40] warrants the conclusion that in antiquity there was a territorial contact between the speakers of these languages. There are also indications that the Dravidian languages were connected with the Ugric (Finno-Ugric) languages family.[41] These connections may have come about in the epoch antecedent to the expansion of Indo-European tribes and nationalities in Middle Asia, i. e., not later than the third millennium B. C.[42]

The paleoanthropological investigations undertaken by Soviet scientists show that within the fourth to the second millenia B. C. Dravidian types were in evidence among the population of South

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[39] Cf., for example, E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 42; A. Stein, The *Indo-Iranian Borderlands...*, p. 201; M. B. Emeneau, *Linguistic Prehistory of India*, pp. 30—55. For more detail see: A. Parpola and others, *Dicipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization*, Copenhagen, 1969.

[40] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *К вопросу о роли субстрата в развитии индоарийских языков*, стр. 101; И. М. Дьяконов, *Языки древней Передней Азии*, стр. 112. F. Bork points out the extensive relationships traceable between the Elam language and the Dravidian Brahui—a language spoken by part of the population of the present-day Baluchistan (F. Bork, *Elam. Sprache*, S. 72, 82). Some relationships have been discerned between the Elam language and the Dravidian languages of South India (G. G. Cameron, *History of Early India*, p. 13) and between certain Dardic dialects of East Afghanistan and southern Dravidian languages (G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 21).

[41] O. Schrader, *Drawidisch und Uralisch*, S. 81—112; *On the 'Uralian' Element in the Dravida and Munda Languages*, pp. 751—762.

[42] С. П. Толстов, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации*, стр. 72—73; *Древний Хорезм*, стр. 65, 350 (with a bibliography on the subject included).

Turkmenia and the areas south of the Aral Sea. [43] Ancient historians refer in their works to "the Asiatic Ethiopians" inhabiting the south-eastern part of Iran and Baluchistan. [44] Being dark-skinned, these Ethiopians seem to have belonged to the Dravidian group of anthropological types. There can, of course, be no direct correspondence between anthropological type and linguistic classification. But we cannot ignore the fact that early Persian cuneiform inscriptions, contemporaneous with the evidence of antiquity we have just referred to, speak of Akaufaciya, [45] a people which can be identified with the Kufich (Kufij or Kuj) people mentioned by medieval Muslim authors. [46]

The author of the *Hudud al-'Alam* pointed out that the Kufij were divided into seven tribes and spoke a language of their own, [47] "assumably related to Dravidian". [48] In our day, individual groups of the Dravidian speakers are living in the area, and some scholars regard them as aborigines related genetically to the Akaufaciya-Kufich. [49]

In old Persian inscriptions (the Behistun incsription, one of the Persepolitan incsription of Darius I, etc.) there are also references to the country and people of Maka, [50] a name which has survived to the present day in the historical province of Makran (Macuran or Macoran, according to medieval authors) [51] situated

[43] Т. А. Трофимова, *Черепа из могильника Тазабагъябской культуры Кокча 3*, стр. 138—139, 140—141, 143—146; М. И. Итина, *Степные племена среднеазиатского междуречья во второй половине II — начале I тысячелетия до н. э.*, стр. 112; С. П. Толстов, *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарта*, стр. 46—47, 58—59.

[44] Cf., for example, Herodotus, *Istoria*, III, 94; VII, 70.

[45] Л. Ельницкий, *Новая надпись Ксеркса*, стр. 169; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian...*, p. 127. Akaufaciya means literally highlanders, from old Persian *kaufa*, highland, mountain (see: В. И. Абаев, *Антидэвовская надпись Ксеркса*, стр. 137; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian...*. pp. 165, 178).

[46] The anonymous author of the *Hudud al-'Alam*, a geographic treatise dating from the late tenth century, localizes the Kufij — كوفج (كوفجيان), to the Kirman (Kerman) Mountains on the south-eastern fringe of Iran (*Hudud al-'Alam*, sh. 7a, 12a, 26б). Refering to the Kufuj, Nizam al-Mulk says that they lived in the neighbourhood of the Kirman (*Siasat Namah*, pp. 66—68). Al-Istakhri, an Arabic-speaking geographer of the tenth century, also localizes the realm of the Kufij (جبال القفص Jabal al-Kufs) to the eastern fringe of the Kirman (Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, pp. 123—124). It is probable that the Kufij settlements survived west of the Kirman, on the Biaban area, as late as the eleventh century (cf., Nasir-i Khusraw, *Safar Namah*, p. 199..

[47] *Hudud al-'Alam*, sh. 7a, 26b.

[48] И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 124.

[49] Cf., for example, В. В. Бартольд, *Историко-географический обзор Ирана*, стр. 100; G. C. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p. 18; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia...*, pp. 302, 308.

[50] А. А. Фрейман, *Древнеперсидские клинообразные надписи*, стр. 3; Л. Ельницкий, *Новая надпись Ксеркса*, стр. 169; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian...*, pp. 117, 136, 140, 141.

[51] Marco Polo described "the kingdom of Macoran" as "the last kingdom of India in the west and in the north-west" (*Marco Polo's Book*, Ch. 188).

in the south-eastern part of Iran and the western part of Pakistan Baluchistan. Many scholars are inclined to relate the Maka people to the Dravidians. [52]

Another evidence that Dravidian speakers were once expanding far into the west and north-west of the borders of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is the fact that part of the population of Seistan spoke a Dravidian language just a few centuries ago. P. Sykes supposes that this present-day Persian-speaking ethnic group (Sarbandis), with genetic relationships to Brahui, is the aborigine of Seistan. [53] It is possible that the unknown Khuzi language (خوزيا) flourishing in Khuzistan in the tenth century A. D. and which Al-Istakhri described as "un-Hebrew, un-Syriac and un-Persian" (ليس بعبرانىّ ولا سريانىّ ولا فارسىّ) was also a Dravidian language. [54]

In present-day West Pakistan, the Brahui nationality occupying the heart of Pakistan Baluchistan is a suvivor of the ancient Dravidian-speaking population. The study of the Brahui language shows that its development for a long time indeed was an isolated case, without any contact with the other Dravidian languages. [55]

The present-day distribution of Dravidian speakers in the south of India indicates that the Dravidians once occupied a territory reaching far into the north and the west of their domain in our day. [56]

Further, the study of the early phase of Indo-Aryan languages also supports the theory that the population of the north-western part of India during the Harappan Civilization was Dravidian. It has been established that during the same period the Dravidian substratum exercised a major influence on these languages, and besides there seems to have been no other substratum except Dravidian for the Indo-Aryan languages of the north-western part of the subcontinent. [57] This would hardly have been possible if the

[52] В. В. Бартольд, *Иран, Исторический обзор*, стр. 42; R. N. Frye, "Remarks on Baluchi History", pp. 45—46. Marco Polo noted "the peculiar language" of Makran's population (*Marco Polo's Book*, Ch. 188).

[53] P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia...*, p. 367, Note 3.

[54] Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 91.

[55] For more details see: M. B. Emeneau, *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, pp. 62—70.

[56] Linguistically, Tamil and Telugu are the most diverse of Dravidian languages, even though their localities had a common border for nearly two millennia. At the same time the language of Gonds, who are living today northward of Telugu, stands "midway between the two as far as mutual kinship is concerned". Hence the conclusion that "the ancestors of Telugu once lived nothward of Gondi, probably in West India, and had been ousted by invaders" (В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *К вопросу о роли субстрата в развитии индоарийских языков*, стр. 100; *О раннем периоде формирования языков народностей Северной Индии*, стр. 154).

[57] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *К вопросу о роли субстрата в развитии индоарийских языков*, стр. 101; also see: G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, p. 278.

population of the Indus Valley and its tributaries had spoken a language of other than the Dravidian language family.

The term Dravidians in its modern sense shoud not, of course, be applied to the population of the north-western part of India in the third to the early second millennia B. C. It would be more proper to speak of the initial ethnic complex, or initial ethnic community, which can be called arbitrarily Proto-Dravidian. This Proto-Dravidian community, and the earliest civilization it created, related genetically to the population of the Indus Rivers's Basin in Neolithic times. It does not concern us here to discuss the entire range of highly sophisticated aspects involved in the solution of the Dravidian problem. On the other hand, the materials accumulated by scientists furnish the ground to re-evaluate the contentions expounded by some authors that the Dravidians entered India through north-western passes, Bolan and Khyber, circa 2900 B. C. as did the Aryans a millennium later. [58] As these migration theories run, it is the intrusion of a progressive Mediterranean population on the subcontinent that accounts for the rise and development of the civilization of ancient India. As for the autochthonous, and more primitive, according to these theories, population in the racial pattern of which the Veddoid element is predominant, it did not play, as the authors of these theories contend, any positive role in the history of India, because the Neolithic culture it had created was ousted by the higher civilization of newcomers from the north-west. [59]

The rise of new ethnic elements (which is sometimes accompanied by the ousting or assimilation of individual groups of the autochthonous population) may, of course, lead to a change of culture on the territory of one region or another. But the emergence of the new, higher culture in the Indus Basin is to be accounted for by the development of productive forces of the indigenous, autochthonous society, and not by the coming of a progressive Mediterranean population. Of major importance was the transition from economy of food gathering to economy of production: i. e., from hunting, fishing and foraging to land tillage and cattle raising, from stone industry to manufacture of metal tools. The development of productive forces resulted in changes in economic life, household, ideology and art. These changes had, in a cumulative way, brought, at the turn of the fourth and third millennia B. C., the change of culture we are now concerned with.

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The culture of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro was not the only autochthonous culture flourishing in the northern part of the

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[58] E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 28—29, 41; H. S. David, "The Original Home of the Dravidians...", p. 80.

[59] Ch. Fürer-Haimendorf, *New Aspects of the Dravidian Problem...*, pp. 129—132.

subcontinent in the third and the first half of the second millennia B. C. In the east of it, as the East-Indian Stone Age Neolithic Culture made progress, a farming culture, termed provisionally the Copper Hoards and Yellow Ware Culture contemporaneous and parallel with the Harappan Civilization arose. [60]

The territorial nucleus of this culture embraced lands south of the Lower Ganges, whence it diffused north-westward up the great river. In its prime, the Copper Hoards and Yellow Ware Culture covered a territory as vast as the Harappan Civilization. [61]

The ethnic affiliation of the creators of the Copper Hoards and Yellow Ware Culture has long been a matter of scholarly debate. Some considered that they were members of the nationality responsible for the rise of the Harappan Civilization who had moved into the Ganges Basin under the pressure of "Western invaders". [62] Others regarded this culture as that of the Vedic Aryans. [63] The latest evidence warrants the conclusion that the creators of the Copper Hoards and Yellow Ware Culture seem to have come from related tribes who spoke dialects of the Austro-Asiatic language family. [64]

Soviet scholars G. M. Bongard-Levin and D. V. Deopik regard these tribes as ancestors of the present-day Munda peoples, the bulk of which is living in the mountain areas of Madhya-Pra-

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[60] B. B. Lal, "Further Copper Hoard from Gangetic Basin...", pp. 33, 38; "Protohistoric Investigation", p. 98; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*, pp. 118—127.

[61] B. B. Lal, "Protohistoric Investigation", p. 91.

[62] S. Piggot, *Prehistoric India...*, p. 238.

[63] Cf., for example, D. H. Gordon *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, pp. 149—152. J. Marshall, granting the possibility of attributing the culture of Copper Hoards and Yellow Ware to Vedic Aryans, has nevertheless supposed that members of Negro-Australoid tribe might have been the makers (J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization...*, Vol., I, p. 107).

[64] See: S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 37; B. B. Lal, "Further Copper Hoards from Gangetic Basin", pp. 38—39. The earliest hydronyms of the north-eastern part of the subcontinent such as Ganga (Ganges), Gandaki (Gandak), Narmada (Narbada), Bahuda (Dhumela, Burha — Rapti; being also identifiable with the present-day River Ramganga), date back to the speakers of the Austro-Asiatic language family. S. K. Chatterji regards the hydronym Ganga as a Sankskritized form of the ancient, and Austro-Asiatic in origin, word meaning a river (hence *gāṅg*, *gāṅ*, river, channel, in modern Bengali). Some scholars (S. Lévi, G. Grierson, G. Bowles, P. C. Choundhury, and others) attribute to the Austro-Asiatic languages of the pre-Aryan population such geographic names as Kosala, Kalinga, etc. occurring in the ancient Indian texts of the latter half of the first millenia B. C. and the beginning of our era (G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 132; S. Lévi, J. Przyluski, J. Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 63—81; G. T. Bowles, "Linguistic and Racial Aspects of the Munda Problem", p. 87; P. C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam...*, pp. 332—333).

desh and the Chota-Nagpur Plateau in Bihir and Orissa. [65] This contention appears true.

The original ethnic complex, which was the stock of the Munda peoples, comprised many components. The main of them are doubtless the elements related to the earliest Negro-Australoid (Veddoid) population of the subcontinent. Nor is there any doubt as to the affinities with the proto-Dravidian nationality (nationalities) living in the north-western part of the subcontinent, as well as the Dravidians of southern India and the Mongoloid tribes of the Indo-China Peninsula. [66] These affinities by no means rule out the original nature of the autochthonous Copper Hoards and Yellow Ware Culture created by the Munda ancestors. Archaeological evidence shows that that was the culture of settled tribes who were already undergoing the decaying phase of primitive-clan system. [67]

The findings of swords [68] indicate that war and resulting plunder were already common in the life of the community. Hoe cultivation, together with hunting and fishing, was the main occupation of the Munda ancestors, as well as the productive base of their culture. Linguistic data show that the ancient tribes of the north-eastern part of the subcontinent practiced vegetable cultivation and raised poultry, and probably were the first to have tamed elephants. [69] It is supposed that the creators of the Harappan Civilization had derived from these tribes some features of the Mother-Goddess cult widespread in the Indus Valley in the third and the first half of the second millennia B. C. [70]

Thus the evidence in our possession enables us to conclude that by the mid-second millennium B. C. the two earliest ethnic complexes had emerged in the northern part of the Indian subcon-

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[65] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Д. В. Деопик, *К проблеме происхождения народов мунда*, стр. 46, 56. Munda is one of the branches of the Austro-Asiatic language family, which also includes the Mon-Khmer languages; the latter being represented by Khasi on the territory of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The existence of a special group of Austro-Asiatic languages, which has been substantiated in the works of W. Schmidt and accepted by many linguists, has been contested by some scholars, who regard Munda and Mon-Khmer as isolated language groups. (В. В. Иванов, *Генеалогическая классификация языков и понятие языкового родства*, стр. 48; А. И. Блинов, *К вопросу о существовании австроазиатской семьи языков*, стр. 153—157; also see: А. Я. Шевеленко, *Еще раз об австроазиатской языковой семье*, стр. 101—106).

[66] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Д. В. Деопик, *К проблеме происхождения мунда*, стр. 54; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 14; E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 41; G. T. Bowles, *Linguistic and Racial Aspects ...*, pp. 81—101.

[67] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Древняя Индия*, стр. 174—176.

[68] B. B. Lal, "Further Copper Hoards from Gangetic Basin...", p. 35.

[69] S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 38; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, pp. 15—16.

[70] D. Sircar's review of H. Mode's pamphlet: "The Harappa Culture and the West", Calcutta, 1961, in: *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XL, Pt. 1. Trivandrum 1962, p. 211.

tinent as a result of complicated ethnogenetic processes: proto-Dravidian in the west and proto-Munda in the east. The borderline between them seems to have run along the Delhi meridian, though this does not rule out, of course, their mutual penetration: individual groups of Munda ancestors into the west, and proto-Dravidians into the east, of this borderline.

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Proto-Dravidians and proto-Mundas constitute the earliest ethnic stratum underlying the Indo-Aryan community which had taken shape in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent in the late second to the early first millennia B. C. All present-day Indo-Aryan nations and nationalities have genetic relationship with this ethnic community. The formation of this community is largely due to the tribes, the speakers of dialects of the Indo-European languages family, whose appearance in the north-western part of the subcontinent seems to date from the middle of the second millennium B. C.

The home area from which these tribes migrated can, at the moment, be defined in its broadest outlines. Relying on the comparative-historical study of the Indo-European languages, some scholars argue that their cradle seems to have been Central and East Europe, or more precisely, the area between the Rhine in the west and the Don in the east. [71] Of the date when the Indo-European languages ramified into separate groups and the Indo-Iranian branch emerged, we know nothing; the only thing we can say with certainty is that this process was complete until the third millennium B. C.

The pressure of surplus population on productive forces (as K. Marx described a similar socio-demographic process) contributed to the distribution of proto-Indo-Iranian tribes, who had originally lived on the south-eastern periphery of the Indo-European world, [72] probably in the steppelands north of the Black

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[71] В. И. Георгиев, *Проблема возникновения индоевропейских языков*, стр. 47—50; В. И. Абаев, *Скифо-европейские изоглоссы*, стр. 127—129, 140—141; Н. С. Трубецкой, *Мысли об индоевропейской проблеме*, стр. 73—74; W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*; S. 213—217.

[72] W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*, S. 45—49. Certain isoglosses point to contacts of the speakers of proto-Indo-Iranian dialects with the speakers of proto-Greek dialects: nowhere except the areas north-west of the Black Sea could this mutual association have occurred (*ibid.*, S. 157—162, 172—174; also see: В. В. Иванов, *Новая литература о диалектном членении общеиндоевропейского языка*, стр. 114—115; Т. Я. Елизаренкова, *Аорист в «Ригведе»*, стр. 8, 14—16; В. В. Иванов, В. Н. Топоров, *Санскрит*, стр. 15—16). In this connection the testimony of antique authors (Herodotus, *Istoria* IV, 28; Strabon, *Geografika*, VII, 4; XI, 2, etc.) to the existence of the country of Sinds—Sindika—which they localized to the Taman Peninsula, is indicative. (For further

Sea and farther to the east and the south-east. In the opinion of some scholars, these tribes occupied in their expansion most of the territory of Middle Asia, which served as a starting point for further migration—towards Iran and north-western India.

The dispersion of proto-Indo-Iranian tribes lasted a few centuries. Tribal unions comprising both proto-Indo-Iranian and indigenous, non-Indo-European elements came and went as they made themselves at home on new territories. The gradual assimilation of indigenous, pre-Indo-European population which had imbibed the language of the newcomers was in progress. A synthesis of cultures in which the newcomers were absorbing the traditions of the indigenous population and transmitting their own achievements paralleled the assimilation. This process had led to the formation of that Indo-Iranian ethnolinguistic community, a faint image of which we can find in the earliest parts of the *Rigveda* and *Avesta*. [73]

The existence of the Indo-Iranian ethnolinguistic community does not rule out that the emergence of certain local differences in material culture and dialectic peculiarities in language was inevitable as the Indo-Iranian tribes dispersed over the vast territory. Evidently, there were several major dialectic groups; the Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages can be traced back to two of them, and the Dardic languages seem to attest the existence of the third.

Some Soviet and foreign archaeologists and ethnographers find certain correlations between the individual archaeological cultures unearthed in Central Asia and adjacent areas and the major ethnolinguistic complexes established on that territory by the beginning of the second millennium B. C. These correlations are of special importance for unraveling the ethnogenesis of Pakistan's peoples. [74] The southern part of Central Asia and probably the adjacent areas of North-West Afghanistan and the eastern fringes of the Iranian Plateau seem to have been a zone

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information on Sinds and Sindika see: В. И. Мошинская, *О государстве синдов*, стр. 203—208; М. И. Артамонов, *К вопросу о происхождении Боспорских Спартокидов*, стр. 34—37; В. А. Устинова, *К вопросу о присоединении Синдики...*). In the north-east the range of proto-Indo-Iranian tribes seems to have stretched to the middle course of the Volga where it bordered on the earliest range of Ugro-Finns (В. И. Лыткин, *Из истории словарного состава пермских языков*, стр. 53, 58).

[73] И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 43—51; В. В. Иванов, В. Н. Топоров, *Санскрит*, стр. 11—13; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 7—8.

[74] For more details see: И. М. Дьяконов, *История Мидии*, стр. 124, прим. 5; М. М. Дьяконов, *Очерк истории древнего Ирана*, стр. 42, 64; М. В. Массон, *Древнеземледельческая культура Маргианы*, стр. 117—121 (see also Dyakonov's review of Masson's book in: «Вестник древней истории», 1960, № 3, стр. 199—200); С. П. Толстов, *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарта*, стр. 47—60; S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India...*, pp. 144, 220, 225; R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 46.

in which tribes, arbitrarily called the proto-Indo-Aryan were forged. From this zone they found their way into Iran and Western Asia.

Evidence on the migration of the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes we can find in Indo-Aryan borrowings in the languages of Western Asia and Asia Minor attested by documents d ting from the second millennium B. C. [75] Linguistic analysis shows that borrowings of this kind had come from tribes speaking a peculiar dialect or dialects distincit from and yet very close to, the dialects of Vedic Aryans. Besides, the language of the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes of Western Asia seems to be somewhat older than the language of the *Rigveda*. [76]

It is probably to an indirect proto-Indo-Aryan influence (through the agency of the Hurrites) that the emergence of the cult of Agni—the Aryan god of fire — among the Hittites in the New Kingdom times can also be attributed; some texts of the Ugarit also attest the vestiges of this cult. [77]

The influence was reciprocal, and there is reason to believe that the names of certain deities, e. g. Varuna, and possibly Indra, had been borrowed by the proto-Indo-Aryans from the peoples of Western Asia. In S. K. Dikshit's opinion, there are also certain cultural-historical parallels that confirm the relationships between the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes and the peoples of Western Asia. [78]

Thus the linguistic and archaeological records attest demonstrably the contacts of the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes with the earliest peoples of Western Asia.

The migration of the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes into Western Asia was paralleled by their dispersion south-eastward, into East Iran, South-West Afghanistan and North Baluchistan. This is indicated by some relationships between the culture of the tribes inhabiting the oases of southern Turkmenia at the turn of the third and second millennia B. C. and the culture of the ancient farming population of Qandahar and Quetta dating from a some

[75] И. М. Дьяконов, *История Мидии*, стр. 124; G. Contenau, *La civilisation des Hittites et des Mitanniens*, pp. 88—90; H. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pp. 191—192; S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India...*, pp. 250—251; T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, pp. 27—30. Some scholars contend that Indo-Aryan elements in the texts of Western Asia had been borrowed from a special Aryan dialect in Mesopotamia whose speakers had penetrated into Western Asia from the areas north of the Black Sea via the Caucasus and not from Middle Asia via Iran. For more information see: В. В. Иванов, *Проблема языков centum и satəm*; стр. 16; R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the Earliest Times...*, pp. 61—63.

[76] Т. Я. Елизаренкова, *Аорист в «Ригведе»*, стр. 9—11; H. Kronasser, *Indisches in den Nuzi-Texten*, S. 181—192; P. Thieme, *The "Aryan" Gods of the Mitanni Treaties*, pp. 301—316 (with a bibliography on this subject).

[77] В. В. Иванов, *Культ огня у хеттов*, стр. 266—272 (with a bibliography on the subject).

[78] S. K. Dikshit, *An Introduction to Archaeology*.

what later stage.[79] This dispersion had brought the forefathers of Vedic Aryans to the frontiers of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and was one of the factors in the völkerwanderungs of the tribes inhabiting the territories of East Iran and Baluchistan.[80]

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The oft-quoted statement that the invasion of the barbarous Aryans that had destroyed the splendid civilization of the Indus Valley[81] and changed drastically the ethnical map of the subcontinent was an "overnight" and sweeping action need be revised in our day.[82]

The study of archaeological evidence shows that not all at once had the urban centres of the Indus Civilization fallen into desolation and been abandoned by their citizens: the process in fact lasted quite a few centuries. Indeed, some cities were still flourishing while others were in complete decay.[83]

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[79] For more details see: В. М. Массон, *Древнейший Афганистан*, стр. 259—260; B. B. Lal, *Protohistoric Investigation*, p. 90.

[80] The archaeological materials indicate that in the areas of Baluchistan associated with the Harappan Civilization this latter gave way to the culture of the tribes that had come from south-western Iran (see: B. De Cardi, *A New Prehistoric Ware from Baluchistan*, pp. 63, 64, 70; V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*).

[81] R. E. M. Wheeler, "Iran and India in Pre-Islamic Times", p. 92; "Harappa 1946", p. 82; *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan...*, p. 32; R. Heine-Geldern, "The Coming of the Aryans and the End of the Harappa Civilization", p. 139.

[82] For the survey of archaeological evidence on this matter see: Д. В. Деопик, Н. Я. Мерперт, *К вопросу о конце цивилизации Хараппы*, стр. 198—211; Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Хараппская цивилизация и «арийская проблема»*, стр. 44—58; *Новые археологические исследования в Индийской республике*, стр. 302—303; *Indian Archaeology*, 1954—55, pp. 11—12; K. N. Puri, «Lothal, an Indus Valley Site in Saurashtra", pp. 51—57; *Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Nos. 18—19.

[83] There is much controversy as to the exact datings of the fall of the major centres of the Harappan Civilization. D. Gordon holds that the invasion of the Aryans, with which he associates the collapse of the earliest Indus Valley Civilization, took place between 1750 and 1300 B. C. (D. H. Gordon, *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, p. 87). W. Fairservis and R. Heine-Geldern, who date the dawn of the Harappan Civilization proper at 2200 B. C., shift the date of its fall back to 1300 and even 1200 B. C. (W. A. Fairservis, *Excavations in the Quetta Valley...*, p. 357; *The Chronology of the Harappan Civilization...*, p. 155; R. Heine-Goldern, *The Coming of the Aryans...*, p. 139). These dates seem to me not accurate enough. Numerous findings of proto-Indian seals in Mesopotamia in the cultural strata dating from the first half of the second millennium show that a comparatively regular intercourse between the Indus Valley and the countries to the west of it was still maintained at that time (cf. R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 84—88). Evidently, the fall of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro dates from the close of this period: the sixteenth or fifteenth century B. C. appears the most substantiated date. (*Ibid.*, p. 99; "Harappa 1946", p. 81; also see: J. E. S. Stone, A *Second Fixed Point...*, pp. 201—205. For the fall of Kathiawar's urban centres, a later date—the last centures of the second millennium B. C. should be taken.

The same evidence indicates that in many areas of its vast province the Harappan Culture gave way to a wide variety of culture, often occupying a limited territory and having little, or nothing, in common with one another. [84] The creators of these cultures seem to have been disbanded tribes inhabiting in the beginning the western and north-western periphery of the Harappan Civilization. As individual Harappan centres declined and decayed, barbarous tribes went sweeping into the Indus Valley, where each made itself at home in a comparatively small area.

A number of cases of continuity found between the Harappan Culture and the cultures of the tribes that replaced it [85] indicate that the migration of the Aryans into the Indus Valley did not take always the form of a military inroad during which the initial population was driven out of its homesteads. Evidently, there were also peaceful contacts in wich migrating bands of barbarians mixed up with the indigenous population; the result was a synthesis of cultures.

The social organization of the Vedic Aryans in the latter half of the second millennium B. C. refutes the view that the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes may have occupied the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent in a single military act. To invade a vast territory strewn with many populous and well-fortified cities and numerous small defensive strongholds in a comparatively short time would demand a farily high level of social and military organization and a unity of will and action—a condition which was impossible at that stage of socio-economic development at which the tribes in question stood in those days.

Another line of evidence that contests the proto-Indo-Aryan instantaneous invasion of the valley of the Indus and its tributaries comprises linguistic materials (supplemented by the evidence of historical sources for later times). Evidently, there were several successive waves of Indo-European invaders into the north-western part of the subcontinent, and the process, which began in the middle of the second millennium B. C., lasted about a millennium. [86]

Thus all attempts to prove that the fall of the Indus Civilization had resulted from the single-action invasion of the Aryans (or their predecessors whom they drove before themselves) [87] should be discarded in our days.

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[84] Cf., for example, S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India...*, pp. 215—240; B. B. Lal, *Protohistoric Investigation*, p. 88.

[85] S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India,...* p. 223.

[86] G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 2, pp. 7—9; Vol. I, pp. 100—108; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, pp. 68—69; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Achaemenids in India*, p. 5; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 51.

[87] S. K. Dikshit, *An Introduction to Archaeology*.

There were a good many factors, both internal and external (and the former were predominant) contributing to the collapse of the Harappan Civilization.

Among the factors contributing to the fall of Harappan urban centres some quoted the change of the courses of the Indus and the Ravi Rivers, [88] the alteration of the monsoons, [89] the break of trade ties between the Indus Valley and the earliest civilization of Western Asia as a result of the völkerwanderungs of barbarian tribes. [90]

These factors could no doubt contribute to the fall of one city or another. But they could not play a crucial part in the collapse of the Indus Civilization as a whole. Archaeological investigations [91] enable us to suppose that a certain internal crisis whose cause is not yet clear was responsible for the fall of major urban centres in the Indus Valley.

When attempting to disclose these causes it seems necessary to proceed from the fact that in the mid-second millennium B. C. a serious internal crisis shook not only the Indus Valley Civilization, but also the earliest slave-owning societies of Near and Middle East, where the cause was the whetting of social contradictions as a result of the expansion of slavery-in-debt and the growing exploitation of rural communities. It is possible that similar processes were at work in the Indus Valley. Another major cause of the crisis seems to have been the incongruity between the level of development of productive forces attained in the Indus Valley by the beginning of the second millennium B. C. and that socio-political superstructure which crowned the edifice of the Harappan Civilization.

It would be wrong to ascribe the internal crisis of the Harappan Civilization to a foreign invasion. Some signs of decay brought about by the internal crisis had in fact emerged long before the incursion of barbarian tribes into the Indus Valley. Of course, this is not to say that the complete fall of Harappa did not contribute to their incursion; on certain occasions it is, indeed, the armed forays of barbarians that had brought some urban settlements undermined by the internal crisis to complete ruin.

The collapse of the Harappan Civilization, the decay and desolation of its cultural centres, the break of intercourse between

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[88] Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 39; G. F. Dales, "New Investigation at Mohenjo-Daro", pp. 145—150. Aristobulus, who visited the north-western areas of the subcontinent at the end of the fourth century B. C., says that he himself saw "an area which had lost a thousand and even more towns and villages and been abandoned by its inhabitants because the Indus had left its original course and taken a left turn to flow a deeper channel" (Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, I, 19).

[89] S. K. Dikshit, *An Introduction to Archaeology*.

[90] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Хараппская цивилизация и «арийская проблема»*, стр. 52.

[91] Cf., for example, Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 61.

individual areas of its domain, finally the incursions of barbarian tribes were all crucial historical events that had led to the disintegration of the proto-Indian (proto-Dravidian) nationality (or kindred nationalities) existing in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. The peculiar historical development in different parts of this vast territory had made individual sections of this nationality enter into a number of new ethnic formations whose rise is associated, in particular, with the advent of proto-Indo-Aryan tribes into the Indus Valley.

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A likely inlet through which proto-Indo-Aryan tribes made their way into the Indus Valley was across South-Western and Southern Afghanistan, whence the Bolan Pass admitted them into Upper Sind, and the Gomal Pass (through the Zhob Valley) and the Khyber Pass (through the Kabul Valley) into the Punjab—the Country of Five Rivers. It is also possible that some of the tribes came from the northern areas of the present-day Afghanistan through the mountain passes leading into the Kabul Valley and father east through the Khyber.

The initial major areas of proto-Indo-Aryan colonization were South-Eastern Afghanistan, the right-bank of the Middle Indus (Derajat) and the Western Punjab, [92] but this does not rule out an earlier percolation of proto-Indo-Aryan tribes into the Upper Ganges-Jumna and possibly into Lower Sind. [93]

As the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes moved eastward their relationships with the kindred proto-Iranian tribes came to a stop. Analysing ancient society, K. Marx noted (with reference to a similar occasion) that a local disintegration in space would lead in

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[92] Among the sixteen countries established by Akhura Mazda, *Avesta* refers to Hapta Hindu lying in the farthest south-east of the Indo-Iranian world (*Zend-Avesta*, Pt. 1). According to the record of the *Rigveda*, the Aryans inhabited the country Saptasindhu (the Country of Seven Rivers) in early Vedic times. This country can be localized by the names of the rivers referred to in the *Rigveda*: the Kubha (Kabul), the Suvastu (Swat), the Krumu (Kurram), the Gomati (Gomal), the Sindhu (Indus), the Vipas (Beas), Ganga (The Ganges), etc. These data show that in early Vedic times (the twelfth to the eleventh centuries B. C.) the Indo-Aryan tribes occupied a territory irrigated by the western tributaries of the Indus (South-Eastern Afghanistan and Derajat), as well as the Punjab and the Upper Ganges. The Middle Ganges seems to have been almost unknown to the Vedic Aryans. In the Rigveda (*Rigveda*, III, 53, 14) there is a single reference to the country Kikatas, which modern scholars localize in Western Bihar (the Gaya District). It is worthwhile to note that Kikatas is described as a un-Aryan country in ancient Indian texts. For more details see: S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 45; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 84, 100, 229.

[93] W. A. Fairservis, *The Chronology of the Harappan Civilization...*, p. 156.

the course of time to linguistic differences.[94] The Indo-Iranian language community gradually disintegrated and independent Iranian and Indo-Aryan groups of the Indo-European languages came into their own.

As a result of the collisions of the proto-Indo-Aryan tribes (hereafter referred to as the Aryans),[95] which made their way into the Indus basin, with the indigenous population,[96] one part of the indigenous population was driven into unreachable highland areas and jungles,[97] while the other part submitted themselves to the newcomers. The armed rebuff of the Indus Valley's inhabitants seems to have forced a part of the Aryans to move from Derajat and the Western Punjab not down the river, but eastward and south-eastward into the Ganga-Jamuna doab, i. e. areas comparatively thinly peopled with disbanded tribes of the Munda ancestors.

Apart from armed conflicts between the newcomers and the indigenous population, there were various peaceful contacts bet-

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[94] К. Маркс, *Конспект книги Льюиса Г. Моргана «Древнее общество»*, стр. 79 (Russ. transl.).

[95] There has been a wide variety of etymological conjectures by different scholars for the word Aryan. Perhaps the most probable is the interpretation suggested by R. Thieme. *Ari-* —a stranger, newcomer, foreigner, alien; from *ari,- aryá-* — relating to newcomers, benevolent to newcomers, hospitable; hence *ārya-*(Aryan) meant originally hospitable (in contrast to inhospitable barbarians). M. Mayrhofer and V. I. Abaev have supported R. Thieme's interpretation and adduced an additional argument based on the data of other Indo-European languages in favour of his conclusions. For more detail see: В. И. Абаев, *Из истории слов*, стр. 113—115 (with a bibliography).

[96] The *Rigveda* refers to armed clashes during which the Aryans destroyed some fortified settlements of the enemy. The Vedic god of war—Indra—is described among its worshipers as *purandara-* "the destroyer of (fortified) towns". For more detail see: A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 60, 64, 161—162.

[97] The Burusho—a small nationality (about 20,000) inhabiting the central part of the Hunza and Nagar Princely States—seems to me remote descendants of these exiles. The vernacular of this nationality has so far defied classification; the only thing that is certain is that it is not an Indo-European language, but is a survival of the languages of the ancient, pre-Indo-European population of the subcontinent. G. A. Grierson believes that the forefathers of the Burusho once occupied the whole, or most, of the territory in which the Dardic languages are predominant in our day, i. e. Kashmir, Baltistan, Chitral, and Nuristan (G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 2, p. 551; also see: Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 108). Stydying one of the Burusho dialects (Wershikwar), I. Zarubin has discovered a few facts showing the relation of the dialect to the Dravidian and Munda languages (И. Зарубин, *Вершикское наречие канджутского языка*, стр. 314). For more information on the Burusho language see: D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*. A. M. Mandelshtam regards the speakers of Burushaski, "at any rate for the Southern Pamir areas, as a survival of the earliest population, who had been assimilated by the ancient Indo-Iranian tribes who are not presumably an autochthonous population for the territory under review" (А. М. Мандельштам, *Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей*, стр. 73).

ween them; in the latter case some groups of the local population kept their own and others entered into the tribal organization of the Aryans. [98]

The result of the diverse social and cultural-historical contacts between Aryan tribes and local pre-Indo-European population was that a new—Indo-Aryan—ethnic community began to arise in the central areas of the northern part of the Indian subcontinent in the latter half of the second millennium B. C.—a process which had completed by the beginning of the first millennium B. C. The formation of this community has above all resulted from the development of a local pre-Indo-European ethnic substratum; intercourse with the alien Aryan tribes was a major, but by no means a crucial, factor in this development. The formation of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community, as far as the available evidence goes, did not involve any appreciable changes in the anthropological character of the population. In particular, this process has nothing to do with the spread of Europoid types of the north-western part of the subcontinent (which seems to date from a much earlier period anterior to the coming of Indo-European languages in this area); nor is it associated with the depigmentation of part of the population. [99]

The formation of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community smoothed out the differences between the components it comprised.

As the Aryans dispersed over a vast territory extending from the Suleiman Mountains to the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, tribal unions comprising both Aryan and local, un-Indo-European ethnic groups came and went. [100] The population speaking a variety of languages (or different dialects of one language) imbibed the Aryan language. This had contributed, along with the local disintegration of the Aryan tribes, to the shifting of the dialectal

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[98] For more details see: D. H. Gordon, *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, pp. 95—96.

[99] Depigmentation and the formation of comparatively lighter anthropological types in the mountainous areas of north-western India was, in the opinion of Soviet scholars, a local and much earlier process (Г. Ф. Дебец, *Заселение Южной и Передней Азии по данным антропологии*, стр. 364—365; *Антропологические исследования в Афганистане*, стр. 90—93). An evidence in favour of this contention is the formation in this area of a special, Hindu-Kush type of the Europoid race, represented by the Burusho people. That there were no appreciable changes in the antropological character of the Indus Valley's population as a result of the rise of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community is evident from the comparison of the bone remnants unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro with the skulls of Taxilla's dwellers dating from the middle and latter half of the fifth century A. D. (J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. I, pp. 288—314; *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 122—123).

[100] R. Shafer even supposes that the Kuru tribe, which played an important role in Vedic times, comprised largely the Aryanized Munda (R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, pp. 29—31). Also see: Б. Я. Волчок, *К вопросу об этногенетических связях народов мунда с кауравами*, стр. 105—109.

frontiers and to the rise of new, Indo-Aryan dialects and groups of dialects.

The relationship of the language of the Aryan tribes with the vernaculars of the indigenous population resulted (as the Indo-Aryan ethnic community came into its own) in that the language of the Aryans crushed and ousted these vernaculars, keeping on its principal vocabulary and a continuity in the development of the grammatical structure. Little by little the indigenous pre-Indo-European population took over the languages of the newcomers.

Before the language of the Aryans had prevailed, there was a relatively prolonged period of bilingualism among a considerable portion of the autochthonous population — a process which is attested, among other things, by the hydronyms and other geographical names descending from the vernaculars of the pre-Indo-European population. The retention of the pre-Indo-European toponymy shows that the spread of Indo-Aryan dialects in the northern part of the subcontinent did not accompany the extermination or complete ousting of the local population, but did in fact occur through their slow adoption of the Indo-Aryan speech. For a long time indeed a considerable part of the autochthonous population had been bilingual. It is during this period that the language of the Aryans underwent a comparatively strong influence, first from the Dravidian languages, and later, as the Aryans moved father east, from the Munda languages.[101] The final ascendancy of the language of the Aryans over the languages of the indigenous un-Indo-European population took place when the languages of the Aryan tribes had grown into the language of the Aryan nationality.[102]

There were many factors contributing to the ascendancy of the Aryan language. First, the various dialects of the Aryan

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[101] That the Dravidian languages had exercised a considerable influence on the Indo-Aryan languages was noted as long ago as the 1860's — 1870's (see, for example, H. Gundert, *Die dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit*, S. 517—530; F. Kittel, *On the Dravidian Element in Sanskrit Dictionaries*, pp. 235—239). The Dravidian and Munda languages have affected the vocabulary, morphology, syntax and phonetics of the Indo-Aryan dialects (cerebral consonants in the Indo-Aryan language seem to have evolved under the influence of the Dravidian and Munda languages) (B. C. Воробьев-Десятовский, *К вопросу о роли субстрата в развитии индоарийских языков*, стр. 102—104; В. И. Абаев, *О языковом субстрате*, стр. 64; S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, pp. 38—39; *Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan*, pp. 43—49).

In S. K. Chatterji's opinion, it is as early as the period anterior to the Aryans' invasion of the Indus basin, when the Aryan tribes came into contact with the Dravidian-speaking population of the eastern fringes of Iran, that the Dravidian languages began to exercise an influence on the language of the Aryans (S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 178).

[102] В. В. Струве, *Предисловие к книге*: *Э. Маккей, Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 25.

language "had no opportunity of differentiating too far", [103] because the Aryan tribes were highly mobile and associated with one another constantly, and their language dispersed by the Aryans over their whole domain easily became a *lingua franca* of all the population inhabiting that territory. Besides, the political domination of the clan aristocracy of the Aryan tribes among the tribal federations that were arising on the territory they occupied was another factor: in their attempts to live up to the clan aristocracy the local population was willing to abandon their own vernacular. Further, of some importance was the difference between the living conditions of the newcomers and the Aryanized part of the local population (comprised in the Aryan tribes) who took up the most favourable places and those groups of aborigines that escaped aryanization, but were ousted into less favourable areas. This difference entailed different rates of population growth: the percentage of un-Aryanized aborigines in the total population numbers was steadily declining and this contributed to their gradual assimilation.

In the ethnolinguistic domain, the establishment of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community thus manifested itself in the formation of a number of kindred Indo-Aryan dialects which ousted the vernaculars of the indigenous population; it is the totality of all these dialects that constituted a stem-language [104] for all the Indo-Aryan languages existing in our day.

In the domain of material culture, the establishment of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community manifested itself in the rise of the so-called Painted Grey Ware Culture at the turn of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B. C. The archaeological record indicates that the territorial nucleus of this culture was the Eastern Punjab and the Ganges-Jumna doab, and its creators led a settled way of life, cultivating fields and raising cattle. As a matter of fact they raised horses, pigs, sheep and horned cattle, used the potter's wheel and manufactured bronze tools and weapons. [105] The wide spread of the Painted Grey Ware Culture over a large

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[103] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *О раннем периоде формирования языков народностей Северной Индии*, стр. 153.

[104] A stem-language is, according to Academician V. I. Georgiev's definition, the language of a group of tribes, which "gives" rise to the development of the languages of a given group of peoples in the sequel". It is possible that "the forerunners of the tribe or group of tribes in question were emigrants". (В. И. Георгиев, *Проблема возникновения индоарийских языков*, стр. 44. Also see: Н. А. Баскаков, *Тюркские языки*, стр. 24—25).

[105] One of the important proofs that the authors of the Painted Grey Ware Culture were the Vedic Aryans is the correspondence of the time of its rise, the geographical area and the remnants of material culture as unearthed at the Painted Grey Ware settlements to the pictures of the Vedic Aryans' life brought to light in the record of the ancient Indian epos (B. B. Lal, *Protohistoric Investigation*, pp. 93—97; *Excavations at Hastinapura...*, pp. 11—14; 138—143; 150—151); also see: В. М. Массон, *Культурно-хозяйственные зоны древней Индии*, стр. 61.

territory in the north of the subcontinent, as well as its unity, indicates that the creators of this culture presented a historically established stable ethnic community.

In the domain of ideology, the spiritual formation of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community manifested itself in the creation of the *Rigveda*, the principal nucleus of which evolved on the same territory at the end of the second millennium B. C. The hymns of the *Rigveda* reflect ritual (magic) charms, epic lore [106] and lyric songs. This indicates that so far as the formation of a mental make-up, ideology and spiritual culture common to all the components are concerned, the establishment of the Indo-Aryan ethnic community was complete at the turn of the second and first millennia B. C.

The Indo-Aryan ethnic community did not emerge at one stroke. Little by little the differing ethnic groups inhabiting the northern part of the subcontinent changed in their intercourse and the smoothing of their differences was a slow process indeed. It took several centuries for the conglomerate of different tribes and different languages to amalgamate into an ethnic whole. But even when the ethnic community had come into its own, it was not at standstill; further metamorphosis connected with some major socio-economic changes in the Indo-Aryan society was on the march.

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[106] Professor G. N. Roerich pointed out that "the heroic epos of the ancient Aryans, romance of its kind, that has not come down to us, but did undoubtedly exist, made itself felt in the numerous singsongs about Indra in the *Rigveda*" (Ю. Н. Рерих, *Упоминание о бунчуке в «Ригведе»* (I, 32), стр. 441).

Chapter Two

ETHNICAL PROCESSES IN THE NORTH-WESTERN AND NORTH-EASTERN AREAS OF THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUBCONTINENT DURING THE PRIME AND FALL OF SLAVE-OWNERSHIP

The development of productive forces, e. g. the emergence of iron and iron tools, [1] helped the Indo-Aryan tribes to husband new, uninhabited areas, improve irrigational cultivation and advance different kinds of handicraft and farming, [2] with the resultant further division and higher efficiency of social labour. A total result of these processes was an increase in the social surplus accumulated in the hands of the clan aristocracy: chieftains and priests. Barter and armed conflicts added to the property and social inequality. A reverberation of the far-reaching changes at work in those times was the tendency to introduce humiliating and respectful forms of pronouns, which shows how far class differentiation had gone in those days. [3] The same is attested by changes in the religious concepts of the Indo-Aryans: a hierarchy of g ds unknown before was arising. [4]

Social inequality was embodied in the established system of four (probably only three in the beginning) varnas, the first reference to which we find in the tenth (evidently the latest) mandala of the Rigveda. [5] In the epoch of establishing slave-owning class relations the varnas contributed to the gradual removal of the clan and tribe divisions and to the formation of a new type

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[1] The first traces of iron making (in the form of lumps of iron ore and slag) occur in the upper strata of the Painted Grey Ware Culture dating from the ninth to eighth centuries B. C. (B. B. Lal, *Excavation at Hastinapura...*, pp. 12—13; S. D. Singh, *Iron in Ancient India*, pp. 215—216).

[2] V. W. Karambelkar, *The Atharvavedic Civilization*, pp. 58—61.

[3] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Развитие личных местоимений в индоарийских языках*, стр. 49, 154.

[4] V. W. Karambelkar, *The Atharvavedic Civilazation*, pp. 69, 112—113.

[5] *Rigveda*, X, 90.12. For more information on the varnas and their role in the Indian society in the epoch of establishing class relations, see: А. М. Осипов, *Краткий очерк истории Индии до X века*, стр. 30—37; Г. Ф. Ильин, *Шудры и рабы в древнеиндийских сборниках законов*, стр. 107; А. Бенедиктов, *К вопросу о значении терминов "варна" и "джати" в Законах Ману*, стр. 181—185.

of historical human community which was based on territorial and social relationships and not on consanguine ties.

The beginning of the first millennium B. C. saw the rise in the northern part of the subcontinent of a number of slave-owning states in which military and priestly aristocracy genetically related to the clan aristocracy of the major Indo-Aryan tribes such as Kuru, Pandu, Shurasena, Panchala, Koshala, Vatsa and others was holding ascendancy. [6]

The political history of this period bristles with incessant armed conflicts in which both early slave-owning states and tribal confederations took part. Apart from armed conflicts we find also peaceful contacts, cultural as well as economic, in which early slave-owning states exercised a vital influence on the development of class relations in the areas adjacent to the Eastern Punjab and the Ganges-Jumna doab.

In later Vedic literature there are references to confederations of un-Aryan tribes living in the north of the subcontinent in the first half of the first millennium B. C.: Pundra and Vanga in Bengal, Madra in the Ravi-Chenab doab, etc. [7] As slavery relationships on the territory occupied by these tribes became established and developed, their clan aristocracy entered into the social structure of the Indo-Aryan society. A vivid illustration of the process in question is the fantastic genealogies (which have come down to us in ancient Indian epos) in which Kings of Anga, Vanga, Pundra and others are said to have descended from Vishnu or the rishi Dirghatama. [8] Also, the clan aristocracy of these tribes had vested itself with the status of Kshatriyas. [9]

At the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., a number of slave-owning states, which were destined to play a vital part in the history of the subcontinent, emerged and ascended in the north-east: Magadha in Western and Southern Bihar, Anga in

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[6] On the localization of these early state formations see: H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 21—22, 138; D. C. Sircar. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval Indial*, pp. 21—22, ff.; Ch. I. Bimala, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, pp. 32—85; N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 74, 103, 145.

[7] Analysis of the *Atharvaveda* shows that the country Anga is described in this text as "the eastern frontier of the Aryan world" (S. Lévi, J. Przyluski, J. Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 72).

In the *Laws of Manu*, the Pundras, together with the Dravida, Shakas, Pahlavas (Parthians) and some other un-Aryan tribes (Jati), are referred to as the riteless and the unrespectful of Brahmans (*The Laws of Manu*, X, 43—44). *Mahabharata* refers the Pundras to the barbarian Mlecchas (*Mahabharata. Adiparva*, Book One, 1, 165, 31—42). For the un-Aryan origin of the Madras and other tribes mentioned in the text also see: V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, p. 52; S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 62; R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 143.

[8] *Mahabharata*, I, 104, 53.

[9] *Mahabharata* (*Sabhaparva*, II, 48, 12—21) decsribes the clan aristocracy of the Angas, Vangas and Pundras as the "best Kshatriyas on noble origin".

Eastern Bihar, Vanga and Pundra in Bengal, and Kalinga in Orissa. Another slave-owning state—Avanti—was arising in Rajasthan. It is in that time that references to the first Indo-Aryan slave-owning states west of the Ganges-Jumna doab: Gandhara, Sauvira, Madra and others, were made.

In some of these states, the ruling top crust was genetically related to the Aryanized clan aristocracy of the local tribes of un-Indo-European origin.

It shoud be noted that although intercourse of the population of the subcontinent's north-eastern periphery with that of the more socio-economically advanced central areas was exercising a definite influence on the social processes at work in the Lower Ganges and the Brahmaputra, it would be wrong to carry the importance of this intercourse too far. The fact is that the foundation of the indigenous population's civilization had been set up as long ago as the pre-Aryan age. By the time when Aryanization was on the move in those areas, separate earlier state formation seem to have been already in evidence there: it will suffice to recall repeated references in the *Mahabharata* to the state of Pragjyotisha [10] and its ruler, King Bhagadatta, "a mighty ruler of the Mlecchas a great warrior in the chariot".[11] It is possible that certain cities known as political, economic and cultural centres of the north-eastern part of the subcontinent in the last centuries B. C. and later had in fact arisen before these areas were Aryanized. The famous Gangasagara is held by D.C. Sircar to be one of these cities. [12]

The socio-economic development, however, was far from uniform (in particular, because of the presence of many isolated, inaccessible mountainous areas where the influence of advanced cultural and economic centres was weak indeed). [13] In the periphery of the slave-owning states, the social systems basic to primitive-clan organization were withering away very slowly and there were still tribal confederations in which class relationships just began to arise and the traditions of military democracy were intact. The most powerful of these confederations in the north-eastern part of the subcontinent were the Vajjis (Northern Bihar) and the Malla (Nepal). In the basin of the Indus there were numerous tribal

[10] The historical nucleus of Pragjyotisha was the present-day Gauhati region in Western Assam. According to some scholars, the name Pragjyotischa (as well as the later name of the state — Kamarupa) descends from the pre-Aryan Austro-Asiatic population of this area (see further: P. C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam...*, pp. 28—29, 30).

[11] *Mahabharata. Sabhaparva*, II 47, 1—14; II, 23, 12—13.

[12] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 178.

[13] This non-uniformity was in evidence throughout the existence of the slave-owning formation in India, thereby determining one of the country's major peculiarities: the perpetuation of fairly substantial clan-system survivals (on this point see: Г. Ф. Ильин, *Особенности рабства в древней Индии*; D. R. Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India*).

unions of "free Indians" (as the ancient authors called them later): the Assacenians, Astacenians, Abastanoi, Agalassoi, Malloi, Oxydrakai (or Oxydracae) and others. [14]

Thus the development of slave-owning society ran parallel to the slow Aryanization of the population of the areas south-west and east of the Ganges-Jumna doab. An evidence of this process appears to be the spread of the Northern Black Polished Ware Culture which replaced the Painted Grey Ware Culture at the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. and presented a further development of the local cultural traditions. [15]

In the north-east of the subcontinent, the slow dispersion of individual groups of the Indo-Aryans from the Ganges-Jumna doab farther east, first into Bihar, and later into Bengal, Orissa and the western part of the Brahmaputra Valley, undoubtedly contributed to the Aryanization of the population. [16]

By the middle of the first millennium B. C. the Aryanization of most of the population of the northern areas of the subcontinent was complete: the diverse ethnic elements that took part in this reciprocal process had amalgamated into Indo-Aryan nationalities or tribal unions. This is supported by the extension of the important geoethnical notion Aryavarta—the country of Aryans—which originally stood only for the central part of North India (the later Madhyadesha—the Middle Country) to embrace the whole territory of the northern part of the subcontinent, "from the Eastern Ocean to the Western Ocean" (i. e. from Bengal Bay to the Arabian Sea) "between those (Himalaya and Vindhya) mountains". [17]

It is in this period that the synthesis of cultural traditions descending from the settled farming culture of the proto-Dravidians and proto-Munda, on the one hand, and from the later, basically cattle-breeding (cultivation being subsidiary) culture of the Aryans, on the other, was reaching completion. As a result of the confusion and transformation of different elements of these cultures, some Indo-Aryan slave-owning nationalities very akin to one another (for all their distinct peculiarities) were arising. The foundations of these cultures go back as far as the civilization of Harappa and the culture of the Munda forefathers. Indeed, many scholars point out the predominance in Hinduism of ele-

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[14] Not all of these tribal unions were at one level of development; this is attested in the ancient authors' records (e. g., Arrianus, *Indica*, I, 8; Arrianus, *Anabasis*, VI, 14, 1—3; Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 54; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVII, 102, 1—7) as well as in the ancient Indian sources (on this point, see: H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 240, 254—256; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, pp. 53, 434—442).

[15] B. B. Lal, *Excavation at Hastinapura...*, pp. 12A, 23.

[16] S. K. Chatterji, *The Place of Assam...*, pp. 16—18.

[17] *The Laws of Manu*, II, 22.

ments descending from the earliest pre-Indo-Aryan—proto-Dravidian and proto-Australoid—population. [18]

Some definite links can undoubtedly be noticed between Hinduism and the religious conceptions characteristic of the civilization of the Indus Valley. The Indo-Aryans, for example, adopted the main features of the cult of Shiva, whose image was identified with the image of the Vedic god Rudra. [19] The *Atharvadeva*—the Veda of magic spells and charms—"seems to have resulted from a compromise between the outlook of the Aryans and the conceptions of India's non-Aryan inhabitants". [20] The motifs of epic poems, legends, tales and fables written in Sanskrit are connected intimately with the pre-Aryan cultural heritage. [21] It is possible that the Brahmi script and numeration descend in some measure from the writing of Harappa. [22] This is attested, among other things, by a similarity between the signs found on the punch-marked coins in circulation in the ancient Indo-Aryan states and the signs found on Mohenjo-Daro's seals. [23] It is essential to note that the earliest of these coins, dated from the fifth century B. C., have been unearthed at the excavations of Taxila in the Indus-Jhelum doab, [24] i. e. an area comprised in the domain of the Harappan Civilization.

The Indo-Aryans adopted the system of weight units that had been in use in the pre-Aryan urban centres of north-western India, as well as many other elements of the culture of the indigenous population. [25]

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[18] V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 17; S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 33; P. C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam*..., pp. 80, 329—334.

[19] Э. Маккей, *Древнейшая культура долины Инда*, стр. 48 и др.: J. Marshall, *Monehjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*..., Vol. I, pp. 52—58; S. S. Piggot, *Prehistoric India*..., pp. 202—203; A. Stein, *The Indo-Iranian Borderlands*..., p. 198; P. C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam*, pp. 415—421.

[20] В. В. Иванов, В. Н. Топоров, *Санскрит*, стр. 32; for more information see: S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, pp. 41—42.

[21] В. В. Иванов, В. Н. Топоров, *Санскрит*, стр. 33—34. For more detail see: W. Ruben, *Über die Literatur der vorarischen Stämme Indiens*.

[22] Н. В. Гуров, Т. Е. Катенина, *Новый этап в изучении протоиндийских надписей*; J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*..., Vol. II, p. 433 sq.; R. S. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, pp. 25—26; A. Stein, *The Indo-Iranian Borderlands*..., pp. 197—198.

[23] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Изображение хранилища для зерна на печатях Мохенджо-Даро и Хараппы*, стр. 120; E. H. C. Walsh, *Punch-Marked Coins from Taxila*, pp. 27—28, 91—92, 94—96; G. M. Young, *A New Hoard from Taxila*..., pp. 27—32, plates V—VI.

[24] J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations*..., Vol. II, pp. 751—752.

[25] J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*..., Vol. II, pp. 589—598; J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations*..., Vol. II, p. 400; E. H. Mackay, *Chandu-Daro Excavations 1935—1936*, pp. 236—246.

The pre-Indo-European farming population played a vital role in the formation of ancient Indo-Aryan nationalities and their cultures not only because of their numbers, but also because this population determined the principal element of the economic activity—the productive basis—of the nationalities, namely settled cultivation. This, in particular, explains the fact that all the major gods of the Aryas (such as Indra, Varuna, Mitra and Prajapati) gradually went into the background in the post-Vedic religious outlook.[26]

Analysis of the earliest borrowings in Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages and from proto-Munda furnishes another evidence of the substantial contribution the pre-Aryan population made to the culture of the Indo-Aryan slave-owning nationalities. R. Shafer points out that many Sanskrit cultural terms had come from the Dravidian languages.[27] Again, S. K. Chatterji holds that among such borrowings, made at an early date, are: *karmāra*, a smith; *kuṭa*, a hut; *pūjana*, cult, divine service; *phala*, a fruit; *bīja*, a seed, grain; *vrīhi*, rice; etc.[28]

F. Kuiper's research shows that Sanskrit has borrowed from proto-Munda such words as *āpīda*, a crown, coronet; *kuvinda*, a weaver; *jāla*, a net, cloth; *khaḍga*, a sword; *gaṇá*, a group, band; *ghata*, a jug; *daṇḍá*, a staff, a club, a mace; *dundubhi*, a drum; *paṭaha*, a cattle drum; *baḍisá*, a fisherman's hook; *hala*, a plough; *śṛṅkhalā*, a chain; and many others.[29]

These borrowings offer a major source of evidence on the great contribution the forefathers of the Dravidians and the Munda made to the Indo-Aryan Culture, since, as Academician B. Ya. Vladimirtsov pointed out, "peoples borrow words from one another together with the ideas or material artifacts they denote".[30]

The establishment and development of class relationships accompanying the formation of the Indo-Aryan slave-owning states contributed to the accustoming of one of the Indo-Aryan spoken dialects as a written language designed to meet the requirements of the state and the top of slave-owning society. According to some scholars (e. g., S. K. Chatterji) this written language is based on the spoken dialect of the north-western part of the subcontinent. This written language—Sanskrit (the classical forms of which ultimately evolved in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.)—comparatively rapidly assumed a super-dialectal

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[26] For more information see: D. Chattopadhaya, *Lokayata*.

[27] R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 9, Note 1.

[28] S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 42.

[29] F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit*, pp. 22—23, 46—47, ff.

[30] Б. Я. Владимирцов, *Mongolica* I..., стр. 309.

character. Once fixed in the written tradition, Sanskrit developed on very slowly, undergowing a negligible and uneven influence from the spoken dialects. [31]

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The necessary sources being wanting, we cannot revive with sufficient completeness and accuracy all the phases of the ethnogenetic process under way on the territory of Aryavarta in the first half of the first millennium B. C.

With the aid of investigations made by historians, linguists, archaeologists and ethnographers throughout several generations, we can nevertheless establish that this epoch is characterized by some major shifts in the ethnogenesis of the peoples inhabiting the northern part of the subcontinent and these shifts were intimately connected with the development of slavery relationships.

Several groups of Indo-Aryan nationalities and tribes did in fact arise as a result of the complex synthesis of the local pre-Indo-European and Indo-Aryan elements. The major ones of them (in point of their homelands) were: the north-western group on the territory of the Punjab, Derajat, Sind and the eastern part of the Kabul Valley; the south-western group on the territory of Gujarat and Rajasthan; the central group on the territory of Middle Country (Madhyadesha); the eastern group on the territory of Bihar, Bengal, Northern Orissa and the western part of Assam; and the southern group of the territory of the ancient Maharashtra.

Each of these groups of tribes and nationalities evolved owing to their mutual prolonged inhabitation of a vast and relatively enclosed geographical region; genetic ties and intercourse contributed to the growth of cultural and linguistic unity among the nationalities and tribes comprising these groups.

The ancient Indian sources dating from the middle of the first millennium B. C. furnish evidence on a few dozen (approximately 30) political units (*janapadas*) [32] existing on the territory of the northern part of the subcontinent. The population of each of the janapadas possessed not only a distinct territorial but also a cultural unity, which manifested itself in the customs, patterns of behaviour and religious beliefs associated with the cult of the local deities. It is worthwhile to note that the population of each of the janapadas possessed also its own language or dialect. [33]

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[31] For more information see: В. В. Иванов, В. Н. Топоров, *Санскрит*, стр. 23—30; S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, pp. 34—55; T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*.

[32] Cf., for example, Panini, *Ashtadhyayi*, IV, I, 148; IV, 2, 76; IV, 2, 118, IV, 1, 171, ff.

[33] For more information see: V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, pp. 48, 478—482.

This warrants the conclusion that depending on the level of its socio-economic development the population of each of the janapadas was either a slave-owning nationality or a union (confederation) of kindred tribes. It is also probable that certain small janapadas were politically isolated sections of one large nationality.

The establishment of class society "ran parallel with the amalgamation of tribal dialects into vernacular languages—languages of nationalities..." This is attested by the emergence of the term *deśabhāṣā*, "the language of a country as locality", which was used to denote these vernaculars. [34]

A group of tribes and nationalities speaking kindred dialects of North-Western Prakrit (according to the term suggested by S. Konow, T. Burrow, and others) [35] or the language of Gandhara, as some linguists call it arbitrarily, was coming into view in the north-western part of the subcontinent by the middle of the first millennium B. C. The local pre-Indo-European population and Indo-Aryan tribes, as well as the Dardic and East-Iranian ethnic elements, had come to form these tribes and nationalities. The language of these tribes and nationalities has come down to us in a few inscriptions of Ashoka (273—232 B. C.) as well as in some MSS written in the Kharoshthi script, part of which was found far away from the subcontinent as long ago as the close of the last century. [36] In the early phase of development the dialects of North-Western Prakrit suffered an impact from the local pre-Indo-European Dravidian substratum. This impact, as far as the available evidence goes, was of somewhat less effect than the influence of the substratum on the Prakrits of the central and north-eastern parts of the subcontinent. For this reason, North-Western Prakrit preserved, as V. S. Vorobyev-Desyatovsky points out, a great deal of archaisms in its phonetics and morphology (and this is confirmed by the comparison of the Ashoka eastern and western inscriptions). [37]

At a later date the Iranian and Dardic languages also exercised an influence on the development of the Gandhara language, and the eastern dialects of it were also affected by Shauraseni Prakrit, the language of the western areas of Madhyadesha.

In Madhyadesha also there arose a few kindred Indo-Aryan nationalities genetically related to the Indo-Aryan ethnic com-

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[34] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *О раннем периоде формирования языков народностей Северной Индии*, стр. 154.

[35] S. Konow. *Note on Ancient North-Western Prakrit*, pp. 503—612.

[36] С. Ф. Ольденбург, *Предварительная заметка о буддийской рукописи, написанной письменами kharoṣṭhī*. For a bibliography of the texts of North-Western Prakrit and for the study of one of its dialects flourishing in Peshawar at the beginning of our era, see T. Burrow, *The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit*, pp. 419—435.

[37] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *К вопросу о роли субстрата в развитии индоарийских языков*, стр. 106—107.

munity that had emerged there in the preceding epoch (the twelfth and eighth centuries B. C.) The vernacular dialects of these nationalities, according to S. K. Chatterji, acted in the Aryavarta as a kind of koine, and this was also due to their midway position (from the linguistic point of view) between the most diverse Prakrit groups: north-western and north-eastern.[38] It is possible that it is one of Madhyadesha's vernacular dialects that Pali, the language of the Buddhist canon has descended from. The vernacular of the western part of Madhyadesha—Shauraseni—has formed the core of the written language used by the Jainas-Digambara at a later stage.

In the north-east of the subcontinent the formation of a group of kindred Indo-Aryan nationalities and tribes largely involved the local pre-Indo-European (notably proto-Munda) and Indo-Aryan elements, and at a later stage (evidently already in the last centuries of the first millennium B. C.) the Dravidian tribes which had come from the south-west and the Tibeto-Birman tribes which had come from the north-east.[39] The original area from which the latter tribes set out towards the subcontinent was the Upper Yang-tse River. As they advanced mainly along the Brahmaputra Valley, a part of the tribes settled in Assam (the present-day Bodo and related nationalities and tribes being their remote ancestors),[40] and another part had penetrated into Northern and Eastern Bengal and Northern Bihar.[41]

The group of kindred Indo-Aryan tribes and nationalities that resulted from the interaction of all these ethnic elements is known in ancient Indian tradition under the common name Pracya. The country Pracya comprised Bengal, Bihar, the north-eastern part of Orissa and the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and its western frontier ran near the present-day Benares (Varanasi).[42] The ethnic unity of the Indo-Aryan people inhabiting Pracya seems to have been realized clearly in the middle of the first millennium B. C., which appears to be attested in the extant ancient Indian legend describing the peoples of Pracya as descending from five blood brothers. On the other hand, the same legend has an allusion to the mixed origin of these peoples: the eponymic brothers had owned their birth to the intercourse of one of the

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[38] S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 55.

[39] S. K. Chatterji, *Kirata-Jana-Krti*, pp. 9—10, ff.

[40] The total numbers of the Bodos and related small tribes and nationalities speaking the languages and dialects of the Assamese-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family amount to 1,000,000; the bulk of them living in Assam, Tripura and the borderlands of East Pakistan.

[41] S. K. Chatterji, *The Place of Assam...*, pp. 9—10. On the likely courses of migration of the Tibeto-Burman tribes see: P. C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam...*, p. 82—84, 86, 90—91

[42] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 172—173.

epic narrators with the wife of a king of the barbarian Mlecchas.[43]

Some idea about the languages of the Indo-Aryan population of the north-east of the subcontinent can be gained from Ashoka's eastern edicts, as well as from the Prakrit of Ardhamagadhi (the language of the western part of the Pracya country) used in the Jain canon. The research of some linguists shows that these languages have deviated from the dialects of the Vedic language much farther than other Prakrits. In the latter half of the first millennium B. C. they came to the fore in the political and cultural life of India as the languages of the anti-Brahman movement associated with the rise and growth of Buddhism and Jainism. The vernacular language of Magadha, which had become the centre of a major state formation, began to play a vital role in the same period.

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A group of tribes and nationalities speaking the Dardic languages was coming into existence by the middle of the first millennium B.C. in the highlands and foothills which form the northern and north-western fringe of the Indus basin.[44]

The Dards (the Darada in ancient Indian texts)[45] can be identified with the Dadicae referred to by Herodotus (III, 91), whose country was in the mountains north of Gandhara, as well as with the Derdai mentioned by Megasthenes whose account of this "large Indian tribe living in the highlands" has come down to us in the words of Strabon (XV, 1, 44). Plinius (XI, 111) and Ptolemaei also have references to the Dards. Together with the population of Gandhara (the Gandari or Gandarai, Gandarites, Gandarians), the Sattagydians who occupied the valley of the Gomal River (south-west of Gandhara) and the Aparytae,[46] the Dadicae comprised the population of the seventh satrapy of the Achaemenid empire. That the Dards (Dadicae) inhabited the areas adjacent to Gandhara in those times is also attested by the fact

[43] For more information see: S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 68; D. C. Sivcar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 135.

[44] For the survey of theories on the origin of the Dards see: Б. А. Литвинский, *Таджикистан и Индия*, стр. 150—151 (with a bibliography on this subject).

[45] E. g. *Mahabharata*, I, 165, 31—42; II, 24, 13—27; II, 48, 12—21; *The Laws of Manu*, X, 44; *Arthashastra*, II, 35, 17.

[46] Some scholars regard the Aparytae as the forefathers of the Afridis (who call themselves the Apridi), one of the present-day Pashtun tribes inhabiting the Khyber Pass and Kohat. See for further detail: S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Achaemenids ie India*, p. 13; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...* p. 453; G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India...*, Vol. X, as well as D. N. Mackenzie's review on: O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, BSOAS, Vol. XXIII. Pt. 1, 1960, p. 154.

that they fought together with the Gandari in the Persian army in one detachment under one commander.[47] The Dards also inhabited the valley of the Kashmir[48] and the mountains and foothills to the south-east of it (in this area their remote descendants seem to be nationalities speaking, in our day, the dialects of central and eastern Pahari).

Of the ethnic character of the population living in the areas west of the Indus in the middle of the first millennium B. C. we know little. The only thing that has been established beyond doubt is that most of the population were already the speakers of Iranian languages in that period.

The dispersion of the Iranian languages over the territory of the present-day Derajat, Afghanistan and Northern Baluchistan is associated with the advance of the Iranian tribes who came to those areas from the homeland in the southern part of Middle Asia. We cannot as yet adduce evidence on the separate stages and concrete roads of this advance, which seems to have started at the turn of the second and first millennia B. C.[49]

In the *Avesta*, as well as in ancient Persian cuneiform inscriptions and in ancient geographers and historians, we find references to peoples inhabiting the areas west of the Indus. Thus, Eratosthenes, a Greek geographer of the third century B. C., states (as related by Strabon) that the following peoples inhabited the areas in his time: the Paropamisadae on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush, the Arachotoi to the south of them, and the Gedrosians farther south on the territory of the present-day Baluchistan; "the Indus flowing along the latitude of these countries touches all of them... the Arias adjoin to the Paropamisadae in the west, and the Drangians (Zarangians) to the Arachotoi and Gedrosians".[50] The country inhabited by these peoples and situated amidst the Indus in the east, the Hindu Kush in the north, the Arabian Sea in the south and Media and Persia in the west was called Ariaña; "however, the name Ariaña embraces a part of Persia and

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[47] Herodotus, *Istoria*, VII, 66.

[48] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 25, Note 4.

[49] It should be noted that even on the roads of the migration and the time of emergence of the Iranian-speaking tribes in Western Iran (a matter which has been studied and documented far better than any other) there is no single viewpoint amont the historians (see: В. В. Бартольд, *Восточно-иранский вопрос*, стр. 364—365; И. М. Дьяконов, *История Мидии*, стр. 124—125, 139, 150—151, etc., E. A. Grantovsky's review on I. M. Diakonoff's book in: «Советское востоковедение», 1958, № 3, стр. 151—155: an extensive bibliography on this matter can be found in: Э. А. Грантовский, *Иранские имена из Приурмийского района в IX—VIII вв. до н. э.*; *Ранняя история иранских племен Передней Азии*, М., 1970.

[50] Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 2, 9; see: *ibid.*, XI, 10, 1; XV, 2, 10; Arrianus, *Indica*, XXVI, 1; XXXII, 1.

Media and the northern parts of Bactria and Aria, because all the hither peoples have almost no differences in language".[51]

What do we know about the languages of these peoples?

The Ashoka inscriptions uncovered in the modern South and South-East Afghanistan contain, according to some scholars, separate words in the ancient Iranian language.[52] As A. A. Freiman believes, analysis of some of these inscriptions warrants the conclusion that their authors addressed a population who "were Iranian-speakers and professed Mazdaism".[53]

E. E. Bertels considered it possible to relate the language of this population to the language of the *Avesta*.[54]

The intimate ties between the language of the *Avesta*, especially in its earliest forms recorded in the Gathas, and the language of the Vedic hymns furnish, as A. Stein believes, another evidence in favour of that the ancient Iranian dialects were widespread within the territory in question. These ties seem to date from the beginning of the first millennium B. C. and attest the territorial contact of the Vedic Aryans with the speakers of the Avesta language, the most probable zone of this contact being areas adjacent to the basin of the Hilmand River.[55]

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[51] Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 2, 8. A Chinese traveller, Chang Ch'ien who visited the "western countries" between 135 and 115 B. C., also noted that in the areas between Ferghana and Parthia, "they, although speaking different languages, are much alike in the common run of things and understand one another in their talk" (Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "Shih-chi"— *Historical Annals*, Chapter 123). The same description runs almost verbatim in *C'ien-Han-Shu — A History of the Senior Han Dynasty* — compiled by Pan Ku in the first century A. D. (Chapter 95): "Although there is a great difference in dialects, but the language is fairly alike and they understand one another in conversation" (Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена*, т. II, стр. 161, 188.

[52] D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Somer, E. Benveniste, "Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka", pp. 20—21.

[53] A. A. Freiman's review on D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste, "Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka". — ПВ, 1959, № 6, стр. 213.

[54] Е. Э. Бертельс, *История персидско-таджикской литературы*, стр. 48; he deals with the same matter in his paper: *Новые работы по изучению «Авесты»* стр. 267—269; On the language of the *Avesta* see: И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 138—140 (with an extensive bibliography on pp. 93—94, 403—406); *Иранские языки*, стр. 39—55; С. Н. Соколов, *Авестийский язык*; В. А. Лифшиц, *Иранские языки народов Средней Азии*, стр. 133—135.

[55] A. Stein, *The Indo-Iranian Borderlands...*, pp. 197—200. The existence of the territorial contact is also supported by a similarity of many social and religious institutions characteristic of the Vedic Aryans, with the corresponding institutions as recorded in the *Avesta* (V. W. Karambelkar, *The Atharvavedic Civilization...*, pp. 293—308).

Although the chronology of separate sections of the *Avesta* has been studied insufficiently, there is no doubt that the earliest sections of this monument must go at least as far back as the beginning of the first millennium B. C. (М. М. Дьяконов, *Сложение классового общества в Северной Бактрии*, стр. 140).

In the middle of the first millennium B. C. the East-Iranian dialects dominant in the territories west of the Indus Valley seem to have broken down into a few related groups, each of which prevailed within the major historical domains: Bactria, Arachosia (Harahuvatish), Drangiana and Gedrosia. Some idea about the firs of these—the Bactrian group—can be gained from the Surkh-Kotal inscription discovered by a French archaeological expedition in Afghanistan in May 1957. [56]

No monuments in the Arachotoi, Drangian or Gedrosian dialects have been found as yet. [57] The ancestors of the ancient Iranian-speaking population in those areas seem to be members of the two small nationalities—the Ormuri (or Baraki) and the Parachi—scattered over the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush, in South-Eastern Afghanistan and West Pakistan. [58]

The natural border between tribes and nationalities speaking Indo-Aryan and Eastern-Iranian languages and dialects in the early latter half of the first millennium B. C. appears to have been the Suleiman range. The Hab River emptying into the Arabian Sea some 50 *km* west of the present-day Karachi offered a frontier in the south-west. [59] In the north-west, in the valley of the Kabul

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[56] The study of the Surkh-Kotal insription has shown that it was made at the turn of the first and second centuries A. D. in an East-Iranian language which occupied a midway position between Pashto (Pakhto) and Yidgamunji, on the one hand, and Sogdian, Khwarizmian and Parthian, on the other. (A. Maricq, "La grande inscruption de Kaniska..." p.345—400; "Bacrien ou étéo-tokharien?», pp. 161—166; E. Benveniste, "Inscriptions de Bactriane", pp. 113—152; W. B. Henning, "The Bactrian Insription", p. 47. For a description of the Bactrian language see: В. А. Лившиц, *Иранские языки народов Средней Азии*, стр. 142—144; И. М. Оранский, *Иранские языки*, стр. 94—99. The Graffiti insriptions discovered in 1963 at the Kara-Tepe excavations in Old Termez seem to have been written also in the Bactrian language (see reports by B. Ya. Stavisky and V. A. Livshits at the session of the State Hermitage on 9—11th of March, 1964,—НАА, 1964, № 6, стр. 219).

[57] The existence of an Iranian-speaking population in these areas is attested, as some scholars believe, by the toponymic record that have come down to us in ancient Iranian and ancient Greek historical sources, as well as by the Indianized proper names of Iranian origin that occur in the Sixth Mandala of the *Rigveda*, "oriented geographically to Arachosia" (В. Н. Топоров, *О некторых проблемах изучения древнеиндийской топонимики*, стр. 63).

[58] G. Morgenstierene, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, pp. 16, 36.

[59] The ancient sources indicate that the Hab (Arbis or Arabios) River was borderline between the domain of the Arabitai (Arbies), "the most outside of the hither Indias", that lay to the east of it, and the domain of the Oreitai (Oritae). The Oreitai are said to "have been clothed and armed like the Indians, but their language, laws and customs were different" (Arrianus, *Indica*, XXII, 10; XXV, 2; see also: Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 2; Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VI, 21,4; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVII, 104, 4). Diodorus writes that "the customs of the Oreitai are similar to those of the Indians with one entirely incredible exception. The deceased's relatives carry the body away. In an oak forest they lay the body down and strip it of all the apparel, leaving the corpse to the devoure-

and its tributaries, a greater part of the population seems to have been Indo-Aryan. Arrianus points out that the Indians were "neighbors" of the Bactrians and Arachotoi. [60] Yet it is at an early date indeed (possibly as early as the first half of the first millennium B. C.) that the East-Iranian tribes began to penetrate into these areas.

The Paktyes, localized to the Lower Kabul, were probably one of these tribes. Herodotus in his account about the Indians states that "other Indians live on the verge of the city of Caspatyrus (Kaspapyros) and the land of the Paktyes". [61] These words enable us to conclude that the Paktyes were not Indians. That they may have been Iranians is attested, it seems to me, in the statement of Hecataei Milesii (circa 546—480 B. C.) that Caspatyrus (Kaspapyros), one of the cities of Gandhara, was "the shore of the Scythians", [62] i. e. an outlying settlement, a city on the verge of the Scythian or East-Iranian land.

The disintegration of clan organisation led to the formation of some tribal unions in the territories bordering on the Indus Valley in the west and in the north-west—crude and frail unions which were the forerunners of class society and first early slave-owning states in this area. These unions could have embraced within the framework of a common confederation not only kindred, but also distant in origin and ethnos, tribes living in one territory. The largest of the known unions was the confederation whose nucleus was an East Iranian tribe: the Kamboja. [63] The domain of this

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ment of the beast". (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVI, 105, 1—2). A similar burial rite is characteristic of the ancient Iranians.

[60] Arrianus, *Anabasis*, III, 8, 3; III, 28, 1. References to the Indo-Aryan population of the dales north of the Kabul River have come down to us in later sources as well. E. g., the Chinese travellers of the fifth and seventh centuries (see: Fa-hien, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 28; Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. II, p. 167). The speakers of the Pashai dialects living on the southern slops of the Hindu Kush in the modern Eastern Afghanistan are possibly the ancestors of this ancient Indo-Aryan population.

[61] Herodotus, *Istoria*, III, 102. On the Paktyes also see: *ibid.*, III, 44; VII, 67. This small people seems to have been assimilated rapidly by its neighbours, since no reference to the Paktyes, as far as we know, is made in any of the ancient sources dating from a later period.

[62] Hecataei Milesii, *Fragmenta* (309) 295.

[63] Ancient Indian sources indicate that the Kamboja language differed from Indo-Aryan. Some scholars (V. S. Agrawala, R. Shafer, and others) regard the Kamboja as the speakers of an Iranian language on the ground that separate extant Kamboja words are Iranian and the very name of the tribe — Kamboja — suggests the ancient Iranian proper noun Kambujiya (or Kambyses as rendered by ancient authors). (For more information see: R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 123; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, pp. 48—49; D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste, "Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka", pp. 46—48). The affiliation of the Kamboja to East Iranian tribes is also attested by the fact that they regarded the killing of snakes, lizzards, toads, insects and worms as a godly and atoning deed, i. e. all the acts which Zoroastrians considered a religious merit.

confederation stretched from the valley of the Rajaury (in the south-western part of Kashmir) to the Hindu Kush range; in the south-west the borders of the confederation extended probably as far as the regions of Kabul and Ghazni, and sometimes even as far as Qandahar. [64]

Some scholars consider it possible to correlate the name of the tribe Kamboja to the name of the city and country Kapisha. [65] If this correlation is valid, then we can contend that the territorial nucleus of the confederation headed by the Kamboja was an area north-east of the present-day Kabul, between the Hindu Kush range and the Kunar River.

The East-Iranian tribes began to make inroads into the areas east of the Indus at an early date indeed. Panini points out that the ending *kanthā* (from the East-Iranian *kanvā*; cf. Samarkand, Jarkand, Tashkent, etc.) was used to form place-names (of towns and settlements) both in the region of Varnu (localized to the Lower Kurram—the present-day Bannu) [66] and in Ushinara (on the Lower Ravi in the Punjab). This attests the presence of an East-Iranian speaking population in the areas in question as early as the middle of the first millennium B. C. [67] That there was an Iranian population also in Taxila is evident from Strabon's words that certain citizens of this city exposed the bodies of the deceased to the devouring of birds of prey. [68]

The Iranian tribes that had advanced east of the Indus became assimilated rather rapidly by the local Indo-Aryan population. Megasthenes, who had visited India repeatedly at the turn of the fourth and third centuries B. C. and knew the northern part of it fairly well, wrote that neither of the peoples inhabiting In-

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[64] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *К выходу в свет русского перевода «Артхашастры»*, стр. 254; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 25, Note 4; 92—93.

[65] On this point see: S. Lévi, J. Przyluski, J. Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 119—120.

[66] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 235.

[67] Panini, *Ashtadhyayi*, II, 4, 20; IV, 2, 103; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, pp. 67—69, 71, 467—468. A detailed analysis of the data available on this matter will be found in: Э. А. Грантовский, *Из истории восточноиранских племен на границах Индии*, стр. 8—30.

[68] Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 62. In ancient Indian monuments there are references to the penetration of some tribes from the northern part of the present-day Afghanistan not only into the Punjab, but even into Madhyadesha. Thus, the *Ramayana* refers to the founder of the dynasty ruling in the state Kuru as a son of a ruler who had migrated from the country Bahli [identified with Balkh (*Ramayana*, VII, 103, 21—22)]. Another evidence as to the identification with Balkh is the names of certain kings who ruled in this country, for example, Balhika Pratihara, who is mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana (XII, 9, 3, 3). For more details see: H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India...*, pp. 21—22; J. Przyluski, *Ancient Peoples of the Punjab...*, pp. 7—8.

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dia "was an alien in the beginning. All of them are, seemingly, the country's indigenous citizens". [69]

From the middle of the first millennium B. C. onward, the Iranian tribes of the north-eastern group—the so-called Sakas—began to penetrate into the basin of the Indus. [70] Archaeological evidence shows that the Sakas roamed about the areas of the Pamirs immediate to the northern frontiers of India as early as the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. [71] Their presence here at a later date is attested by the ancient historians. [72] The Saka burials of the Eastern Pamir dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. have disclosed some articles of Indian origin[73]—silent witnesses of the early contacts between the population of the Indus basin and the north-east Iranian tribes.

Soviet scientists have made substantial contribution to the study of the origin of these tribes. The investigation of the Saka barrows in the southern Pamir dating from the middle of the first millennium B. C. shows that their creators were members of the extreme eastern part of dolichocephalic racial type belonging to the Europoid Mediterranean (Indo-Mediterranean) minor race; "in their ethnogenesis they stood with relation to the southern and western ethnic groups of the Transcaspian Scythians". [74]

By the middle of the first millennium B. C. the population of the Pamirs and adjacent areas had merged into a close-knit East-Iranian ethnic community possessing a common culture. It seems possible to identify this ethnic community with the *sakā haumavargā* recorded in the Naksh-i Rustam and other inscriptions by Darius [75] and the Amyrgian Scythians mentioned by Herodotus, who are localized to the south-eastern fringe of the Scythian world. In this connection it is important to refer to Herodotus's words that " by the Sakas were meant the Amyrgian Scythians proper". [76] According to Strabon, the Massagetae and

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[69] Megasthenes's account has come down to us in Diodorus's rendering (see: Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, II, 220).

[70] А. Н. Бернштам, *Очерк истории гуннов*, стр. 90, примеч. 2; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India*, p. 1. On the etymology of the ethnonym saka see H. W. Bailey, *Languages of the Saka*, p. 113.

[71] Б. А. Литвинский, *Археологические открытия в Восточном Памире...*, *Раскопки могильников на Восточном Памире*, стр. 37—48.

[72] "The Northern (border of India) is separated from Scythia by the Hemodos Mountains and it is here that the tribes whom the Scythians call the Sakas live" (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, II, 216—220; VI, 12—13. See also: Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VI, 12—13).

[73] See, for example, А. Н. Бернштам, *Саки Памира*, стр. 124.

[74] В. В. Гинзбург, *Материалы к палеоантропологии восточных районов Средней Азии*, стр. 87; ; *Антропологическая характеристика саков Южного Памира*, стр. 37.

[75] R. G. Kent, *Old Persian...*, pp. 137, 141. The Saka Haumavarga are also referred to in the Xerxes inscription (*ibid.*, p. 151). I. M. Oransky translated the words "Saka Haumavarga" as "the Sakas who brew haoma" (И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 64, 123).

[76] Herodotus, *Istoria*, VII, 64.

Sakas stood for the "easternmost" of the Scythians, though "each people per se bore a name of its own". [77]

Some local non-Iranian tribes living in the areas of the southern Pamir and the areas east of the Hindu Kush before the advent of the Sakas seem to have been comprised, apart from the East Iranian tribes, in the Saka Haumavarga confederation. This is attested both in the anthropological and archaeological evidence [78] and in the record of ancient sources. Among the tribes inhabiting the country of the Sakas, Ptolemaeus mentioned the Biltae, [79] whose ethnical name is associated with Baltistan, a country lying farther east and inhabited largely by Dards. It is also possible that the Biltae were a Dardic tribe partially or completely assimilated by the Sakas.

Of the language of the Sakas in the middle of the first millennium B. C. we have nothing to go by except some personal nouns, the names of some Saka tribes and the records of toponymy. [80] For a later date we have the record of numismatics and some texts in the Kharoshthi and Brahmi scripts to add to our scanty evidence. Taken together, the available data enable us to conclude that the language of the Sakas was one of the East Iranian group.

On the territory of the present-day West Pakistan there were still separate regions occupied by a pre-Indo-European population who had, for one reason or other, defied assimilation. One of these regions in the heart of North-Eastern Baluchistan was an area occupied by the Parata or Parada people (the country Paradene in Ptolemaeus), [81] whom some scholars regard as a distant ancestor of the present-day Brahui. [82]

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[77] Strabon, *Geographika*, XI, 8, 2.

[78] For more information see: А. М. Мандельштам, *Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей*, стр. 71—72 (with a bibliography of the major works on this subject).

[79] Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VI, 13.

[80] See, for example, С. Кляшторный, *Яксарт-Сыр-Дарья*, стр. 189—190.

[81] Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VI, 21.4. In the *Laws of Manu* the Parada are mentioned together with the Kamboja, Javana, Shaka, Pahlava, and Darada, localized to the western and north-western borderlands of the subcontinent. Some scholars identify the Parada with the Parthians (Pahlava), but this is hardly the case. Nor is the *Laws of Manu* an exception: there are yet other sources in which the Parada and the Pahlava are treated as different peoples. Thus, the *Mahabharata* (II, 48, 12—21) mentions, among the peoples whose rulers paid tribute to King Judhishthira, the Parada and the Pahlava as having no affinity with each other. Analysing the geographical record adduced by Panini, V. S. Agrawala localizes the Parada, together with the Kitava and Vayrama referred to in the *Mahabharata* (II, 47, 1—14), to the present-day Baluchistan (V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, p. 66).

[82] G. Oppert, *On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India*, p. 35.

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At the close of the sixth century B. C. a part of the present-day West Pakistan, as well as South and South-East Afghanistan, was incorporated into the ancient Persian Achaemenid empire. In the 14th to the 17th lines of the first column of the Behistun inscription of Darius I (522—486 B. C.) mention is made, among countries under his sway, of Gandara (Gandhara), Maka (Makran), Satagush (Sattagydia), and Harahuvatish (Arachosia), in the basin of the Hilmand River. [83]

In the Persepolis inscription and Naksh-Rustam epitaph both dating from a later period Darius also refers to the satrapy Hindu (Hindush), [84] i. e. India. This satrapy comprised lands in the middle and lower reaches of the Indus and in the western part of the Punjab.

The realm of the Achaemenids also embraced the western part of the Dard country, the evidence on this dating from the reign of the successors of Darius I—Xerxes (486—465 B. C.) and Artaxerxes (465—423 B. C.), [85] and this seems to indicate that the lands inhabited by the Dards were incorporated into the ancient Persian state at a fairly later date.

The lack of unity among the tribes and peoples, as well the treachery and surrender of the rulers in some local state formations, contributed to the establishment of Achaemenid rule over the territory of the present-day West Pakistan and the south-eastern part of Afghanistan. It is only at the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. that the areas beyond the Indus succeeded in regaining their independence as the Achaemenid empire grew weaker. [86] In the areas west of the Indus, however, Alexander the Great smashed the Persian reign. [87]

All the peoples conquered by the Achaemenids were charged with heavy dues. [88] In addition, they were to pay "a levy of blood" (warriors of these areas were enlisted in the Persian army) [89] and a variety of tolls in kind. [90]

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[83] А. А. Фрейман, *Древнеперсидские клинообразные надписи*, стр. 3; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian...*, p. 117. For a detailed study of the Behistun inscription see: М. А. Дандамаев, *Иран при первых Ахеменидах.*

[84] R. G. Kent, *Old Persian...*, pp. 136, 137.

[85] Herodotus, *Istoria*, III, 91; VII, 66.

[86] Another line of evidence in support of this is the absence of any reference to the Persian garrisons beyond the Indus in the ancient historians' accounts of the actions which Alexander the Great's army undertook in the area. At any rate, it is local rulers with their warriors or tribal war bands that oppose the Graeco-Macedonian invaders.

[87] Strabon writes that during the invasion of Alexander «the Indus acted as the border between India and Ariana, and the Persians possessed Ariana» (Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 10; see also: XV, 1, 26).

[88] Herodotus, *Istoria*, III, 91, 94—95.

[89] Herodotus, *Istoria*, VII, 65; VIII, 113; IX, 31; Arrianus, *Anabasis*, III, 8, 3—4, 6.

[90] A building inscription of Darius I at Susa states that for the building of the royal palace valuable kinds of timber came from Gandhara and

The incorporation of the north-western part of the subcontinent in the Achaemenid empire contributed to the reinforcement of the old contacts, and the establishment of new, closer contacts, between the territories gravitating towards the basin of the Indus and the advanced slave-owning societies of Western Asia, in the first place ancient Persida, Elam, Mesopotamia and Syria. [91] Thanks to these contacts the peoples of the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent have imbibed certain elements of the culture which we can arbitrarily term the Achaemenidian Culture.

Aramaic, which was a language of administration and international affairs in the Achaemenid state, became the official language of the territory. [92] It is worthwhile to note that this function the Aramaic language kept on even after the Achaemenid empire fell and the north-western areas of India were included in the Mauryan empire. This is attested by the Aramaic inscriptions of Ashoka found in West Pakistan and southern Afghanistan. [93]

Under the influence of the Aramaic script, the syllable script Kharoshthi evolved and lasted until the middle of the fifth century A. D. [94] It is possible that the Persian-Aramaic writing exercised an influence also on the script Brahmi, from which nearly all of the modern Indian alphabets descend. [95]

It is evidently ancient Persian influence that explains the custom arisen in the time of Ashoka in India to monumentalize major state regulations and edicts on rocks and columns; in

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ivory from the satrapies Arachosia and India (В. М. Абаев, *Надписи Дария I о сооружении дворца в Сузе*, стр. 129—130; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*..., pp. 143—144).

[91] There is no doubt whatever as to the existence of contacts between the northern part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the countries west of Iran in a period anterior to the formation of the Achaemenid empire. The Assyrians in the early seventh century B. C. knew the north-western part of the subcontinent (Sinda). In the *Atharvaveda* we find borrowings from languages dominant in Western Asia, in particular from the Assyrian language. According to some scholars, an outcome of these contacts was also inclusion of the Legend of the Flood in the *Atharvaveda* (*Atharvaveda samhita*, V, 4, 5; VI, 95, 2; XIX, 39, 8. For more detail see: V. W. Karambelkar, *The Atharvavedic Civilization*..., pp. 140—141, 312).

[92] R. Chirshman, *Iran from the Earliest Times*..., p. 163; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*, pp. 171—172.

[93] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Таксильская надпись Ашоки*, стр. 121—128; W. B. Henning, "The Aramaic Incription of Ashoka Found in Lampaka," pp. 80—88; D. Ch. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing of Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 81—82; D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste, "Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka", pp. 1—48.

[94] G. G. Das Gupta, *The Development of Kharosthi Script*, pp. 280—290; A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 255—260. The latest Kharoshthi insriptions (dating from the fifth century A. D.) were discovered on the socle of two stupas during the excavations of Taxila (Г. Ф. Ильин, *Древний индийский город Таксила*, стр. 78).

[95] A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 28,30.

this connection it is to be noted that before his accession Ashoka was the vicegerent of Gandhara. Some scholars find ancient Persian influence in the preamble of Ashoka's decrees and to a certain extent in their terminology. A plausible explanation is that scribes (*lipikara*) in the Maurya state, who came from the north-western areas, were brought up in Persian-Aramaic tradition.[96] Even the very word *lipikara* was borrowed from Achaemenidian Iran.[97]

To a certain extent the kings of the Mauryan dynasty adopted the ancient Persian court ceremonial and some religious rites. The Achaemenid administration system exercised an influence on the polity of north-western India and on local monetary emission.[98] The influence of Persian samples is evident in the architecture and some other handicrafts of Northern India.[99]

Yet the cultural influence of ancient Persia in the north-western part of the subcontinent was by no means profound and indeed affected only the top of society. The two-century dominance of the Achaemenids did not lead to the Iranization of the territories and Indo-Aryan population they conquered. The vernacular of the populace (as indicated by the inscriptions of Ashoka found at Taxila) and even of the educated section (top) of the society remained the north-western Prakrit, which is demonstrably attested by the impact of the Gandhara dialect on the language of the Kalinga edicts of this monarch.[100] Another source of evidence disclosing the immense force of proper Indian cultural traditions in the north-western areas of the subcontinent that did not crash under the prolonged rule of foreign invaders is the fact that it is precisely with this region that Indian tradition associates the life and activity of the great scholar Panini, the author of the classical Sanskrit grammar.

The descriptions of north-western India that have come down to us in the works of the ancient geographers and historians (whose sources date from the fifth and the late fourth centuries B. C.) show that the culture of its population remained at bottom In-

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[96] Even in the eastern areas of the Mauryan state, scribes came from the north-western part of the subcontinent. This is clear from the fact that while hewing king's edicts in the script Brahmi, scribes wrote their own name in the script Kharoshthi (see: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Ahale*..., стр. 15).

[97] For more information see: М. А. Дандамаев, *Иран при первых Ахеменидах*, стр. 33, 51, 98, 99; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini*..., pp. 311, 466.

[98] J. Marshall, *Taxila, and Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations*..., Vol. I, p. 14.

[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 15—16; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Iran and India in Pre-Islamic Times*, pp. 94—101; S. Piggott, *Throne-Fragment from Pataliputra*, p. 103; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*, pp. 173—175.

[100] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Ahale*..., стр. 15, примечание 16 On the influence of the western and north-western Prakrits on the language of Ashoka's eastern edicts see also: L. Alsdorf, "Zu den Asóka-Inschriften", S. 58—59.

dian.[101] The bulk of relics of material culture unearthed by archaeologists over the last few decades tells the same story.[102]

The Achaemenidian invasions did not involve the colonization of the territories of West Pakistan and South Afghanistan under Persian rule. It is true that single reference to the construction of fortresses which offered the strongholds of the invaders' power in this area have indeed come down.[103] J. Marshall has suggested that it is Darius I who founded Taxila, a major cultural and administrative centre of eastern Gandhara.[104] Even if Persian garrisons did lodge at certain fortresses and some of the administrative centres, this, as far as the available evidence goes, had but little effect on the ethnogenetic processes at work on the territory of West Pakistan and the adjacent areas of South Afghanistan. If, however, a few Persian elements had indeed been assimilated by the ancestors of the peoples inhabiting the present-day West Pakistan, their role in the ethnogenesis of these peoples was negligible.

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The aftermath of Graeco-Macedonian invasion was more far-reaching for the historical destinies of West Pakistan's peoples than that of Achaemenid rule.

Alexander the Great's troops reached the borders of India in the spring of 327 B. C. It took two years more for them to overrun the lands extending from the Indus basin to the banks of the Hyphasis (Beas) River.[105] The emulation of small Indian rulers—some of whom, like king of Taxila, Ambhi (Omphis), joined the invaders—the lack of unity, and hostility among local tribal confederations all contributed to the success of the Graeco-Macedonian army's campaign.[106] Having crushed his enemies one

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[101] See, for example, Arrianus, *Indica*, XII, 8; XVI, 5; Arrianus, *Anabasis*, VI, 3, 5; Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 49.

[102] J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. I, pp. 22; Vol. II, p. 441.

[103] One of such fortresses was in the land inhabited by an Indian people—Opiai [Hecataei Milesii, *Fragmenta*, 312 (299)]. It is possible that this fortress should be identified with Alexandria-Opiana situated near the present-day Charikar north of Kabul.

[104] J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. I, p. 12. Even if J. Marshall is right and Taxila was indeed founded by the Achaemenids, the city did not become a vehicle of Persian influence in the basin of the Indus. All the available sources describe Taxila as a centre of ancient Indian Culture. See, for example, *Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 26, 43, 52; Vol. IV, pp. 14, 24.

[105] Arrianus, *Indica*, IV, 1.

[106] Arrianus, *Anabasis*, IV, 22, 6; V, 3, 5—6; V, 8, 2; V, 8, 5; 11, 3, ff; Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 28; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVII, 86, 4; XVII, 98, 2.

by one, Alexander divided the territory into three satrapies[107] and made them a part of his domain. Alexander died in 323 B.C., and soon afterward Ghandragupta of Maurya overthrew the power of the Greek satraps on both sides of the Indus. One of Chandragupta's successors—Ashoka—governed these territories, as well as western Gandhara, Sattagydia, Arachosia and Gedrosia. This is attested, among other things, by the bilingual of Ashoka found near Qandahar. Soon after Ashoka's death, however, the territories became independent. It is known that a Subhagasena (Sophagasenus), whose name is mentioned by Polybius,[108] reigned in Gandhara at the end of the third century B. C., on the eve of Antioch III's eastern campaign. As shown by numismatic evidence, independent rulers also held under control Gedrosia.

The fall of the Mauryan empire gave access to the valley of the Indus for another Graeco-Macedonian conqueror. This time it was Demetrius, a son of Euthydemus who ruled an independent Hellenistic state which arose in Bactria at the end of the third century B. C. Within a few years (circa 190—180 B. C.)[109] Demetrius took in a considerable part of the Indus Basin.

The expansive policy of Bactria's Hellenistic rulers, who "had conquered more peoples than Alexander himself"[110] resulted in the establishment in the north-western part of the subcontinent of the so-called Indo-Greek kingdom stretching from Kashmir to the coast of the Arabian Sea. According to Strabon's testimony, the Indo-Greek kings in the south possessed the lower reaches of the Indus and the Saurashtra.[111] The most powerful of them was Menander (the mid-second century B. C.), "a master of sea ports, mines, cities and custom-houses".[112] After his death the Indo-Greek kingdom dissolved into many small estates, about which we have learned, chiefly, through the record of numismatics. Some of them survived to see the dawn of our era.

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[107] Arrianus, *Anabasis*, VI, 2, 3; VI, 15, 2; VI, 15, 4.

[108] Polybius, *Historiae*, XI, 34, 11—12.

[109] K. V. Trever, who dates the reign of Demetrius between 189 and 167 B. C., holds that he completed the conquest of north-western India by 175 B. C. (К. В. Тревер, *Памятники греко-бактрийского искусства*, стр. 6—7).

[110] Strabon, *Geographika*, XI, 11, 1. Another ancient author writes that Bactria was "an empire (*imperium*) possessing a thousand of cities" (M. Juniani Justini, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, XLI, 1, 8).

[111] Strabon, *Geographika*, XI, 11, 1; XV, 1, 3; In the opinion of the modern Indian historian H. D. Sankalia, not only Kathiawar, but indeed a part of Gujarat was under the sway of Indo-Greek rulers (H. D. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, p. 10).

[112] *Milindapanha*, VI, 19.

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The Hellenistic Culture, which blended Greek and Eastern cultural traditions, exercised an immense influence on the civilization of the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Although on the eastern edge of the Hellenistic world this influence was by far weaker than in the countries of Western Asia, it would be wrong, nevertheless, to underestimate the degree of Hellenization that affected a part of the indigenous population. The point that needs be stressed is that the diffusion of Hellenism in the Indus Basin took place largely as a result of the influence of Hellenistic Graeco-Bactrian Culture; in this way a Middle-Asian kind of Hellenism was adopted in the basin of the Indus.

The first acquaintance of the peoples of North-West India with the ancient Greeks and certain elements of their culture seems to date from the late sixth and the early fifth centuries B. C. The establishment of the power of Cyrus the Great and his successors over the vast territory extending from the coast of the Aegean Sea to the Indus Valley must have been a major contributing factor. Panini knew about the existence of the Greek writing—*Yavanani lipi*. [113] In the ancient authors we can find single references to the re-settlement of the peoples of the western areas of the Achaemenid empire [114] eastward, into Bactria and Sogd. Yet there is hardly any ground to assume, as some scholars (A. K. Narain, A. S. Agrawala, and others) do, that there were comparatively populous Hellenic (Ancient Greek) settlements on the eastern edges of the Achaemenid empire (in the north-west of India) in times anterior to Alexander's campaigns, and regard, for example, the city of Nysa in the Lower Kabul Valley as a Greek colony. [115] Even Arrianus, when commenting legends of the foundation of Nysa by Dionysus, emphasized the fantastic character of these legends: "If they are measured by the natural course of events, they are implausible". [116]

The northern Indian contingents supplied by Alexander the Great and his successors into their armies seem to have become Hellinized much earlier than other sections of the population. Indigenous troops were armed with Macedonian weapons and trained by Macedonian methods. [117] Hellenization worked on the offspring of intermarriages between Macedonian soldiers and "Asiatic women", [118] as well as on the population of numerous

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[113] Panini, *Ashtadhyayi*, IV, 1, 49.

[114] See, for example, Herodotus, *Istoria*, IV, 204; VI, 9; Q. Curti Rufi, *Historiarum Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, VII, 5, 28—29.

[115] A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 2—6; 169; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini...*, p. 466.

[116] Arrianus, *Anabasis*, V, 1, 2.

[117] *Ibid.*, VII, 6, 1.

[118] *Ibid.*, VII, 12, 2; M. Juniani Justini, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, XII, 10, 10.

cities founded or re-built by the Graeco-Macedonian invaders. These cities were populated with Graeco-Macedonian soldiers unable for further service and with local dwellers. Thus, according to Diodorus, Alexander recruited "10,000 people» [119] to inhabit a city he had founded in the Lower Indus. Seleucus Nicator carried on town construction too; he "built many towns all over his vast kingdom", including "Alexandropolis in the land of the Indians". [120]

In the ancient and early Indian sources we find also references to cities built by the rulers of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek states in the basin of the Indus. [121]

Although town construction and, as a corollary, Graeco-Macedonian colonization, had little more than military objectives in the beginning (Hellenistic settlements were to serve as the strongholds of the invaders' rule) the cities built by Alexander and his successors, little by little, assumed some features characteristic of the ancient Greek polis. [122] Similarly, the cities founded by the rulers of the Indo-Greek state also had some Hellenistic features. Thus the *Milindapanha* states that a standard (cross-like) town planning basic to the polis was in practice. [123] These facts are supported by the records of travellers [124] and archaeological materials. [125]

Graeco-Macedonian veterans, artisans and merchants who settled down in these cities used to bring the Greek languages and way of life, the Greek writing and cultural tradition, craftsmanship and artistic techniques. The Graeco-Macedonian invaders formed a ruling stratum of the slave-owning class. This couldn't but contribute to the diffusion of Hellenism, whose traditions were adopted both by the local slave-owning nobility and (to some extent) by townfolk, including merchants and artisans, who catered for the requirements of the top of society.

Beyond the walls of major trade and political-administrative centres the influence of the Hellenistic culture was undoubtedly meager. In the least degree, indeed, did it affect the bulk of the population. This is attested in the historical records as well as archaeological evidence. Village folk and urban commoners went

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[119] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVII, 102, 4.

[120] Appian, *Syriake*, 57; see also: Arrianus, *Anabasis*, IV, 22, 5; V, 29, 3, ff.

[121] Dattamitri in the Indus Valley is held to be one of the cities founded by Demetrius. For more information see: H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Anciens India*, pp. 263, 381—382.

[122] W. W. Tarn, *The Greekt in Bactria and India*, pp. 9—23; В. Тарн, *Эллинистическая цивилизация*, стр. 142—144 (Russ. ed.).

[123] *Milindapanha*, I, 2; II, 1, 9; V, 4.

[124] See, for example, J. Charpentier, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, pp. 48—49.

[125] R. Ghirshman, *Begram...*; Р. Гиршман, *Раскопки французской археологической делегации в Беграме...*, стр. 10—16; J. Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 5, 61.

on speaking local vernaculars, confessing local cults and following local cultural traditions [126] By far the greatest was Hellenistic influence in those branches of craftsmanships, art, culture, science, etc., whose process dovetailed with the catering of the ruling strata of the society.

Artifacts unearthed in the north-western part of the subcontinent in cultural strata dating from the second century B. C. to the first century A. D. (jewelry, metal ware, stone and ivory carvings, terra cotta, i. e., intended, chiefly, for rich customers) are often replicas of the Greek art. However, Hellenistic influence is manifest sometimes in those articles (e. g. ceramics) which the artisans manufactured, largely along the lines of local tradition, for mass consumers. [127]

Greek cultural influence made itself felt in the development of local sculpture (it seems owing to the Greeks that the first human figurines of Buddha appeared). [128] The synthesis of local and Hellenistic traditions is also responsible for the rise of the famous Gandhara school known by its remarkable monuments of fine art. [129] Another sphere where the Greek Culture had influence was architecture. [130]

Indian astronomy derived from the Greeks the system of the zodiac signs, as well as the name of some celestial bodies. The Macedonian month names were in use in the north-west of the subcontinent as early as the first centuries of our era. Linguistic evidence also attests the influence of the Hellenistic Culture, in particular, such Sanskrit words borrowed from Greek, as *mela*, ink (from Gr. Μελαν), *kalama*, a pen (from Gr. Καλαμος). It is probable that it is from the Greek that the Indians borrowed the inkpot and metal pens. [131]

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[126] J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. II, p. 441.

[127] J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. I, p. 132; *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 80—81; F. A. Khan, *Preliminary Report on Banbhore Excavations*, pp. 16—17.

[128] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 376. Academician S. F. Oldenburg points out that Hellenism exercised, through India, an influence also on the development of the Chinese art. "We find here a far-reaching influence of India, even of Gandhara, to be more specific, where the Hellenistic art merged with the Indian art" (С. Ф. Ольденбург, *Пещеры тысячи Будд*, стр. 63). Academician V. V. Barthold noted the influence of the Hellenistic Greek-Indian Culture on the art of South-East Asia (В. В. Бартольд, *Восточно-Иранский вопрос*, стр. 367).

[129] К. В. Тревер, *Памятники греко-бактрийского искусства*, стр. 31—32. S. P. Tolstov describes the Gandhara school as "a Middle-Asian and Indian version of the later Hellenistic art... a result of the synthesis of classical Greek and local forms" (С. П. Толстов, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации*, стр. 153—154).

[130] К. В. Тревер, *Памятники греко-бактрийского искусства*, стр. 27—31; J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. I, pp. 222—223.

[131] Г. Ф. Ильин, *Древний индийский город Таксила*, стр. 63—64; A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 19.

W. Tarn holds that the rulers of the Greek-Indian state introduced (with small modifications) the administrative systems of the Seleucids in the north-western part of the subcontinent. [132] The system remained unchanged in subsequent times as well, when the Sakas overran most of the territory. [133] In this connection it is necessary to note that even after the fall of the Greek-Indian state, in the times of the Sakas, Parthians and especially the Kushans, Hellenistic influence on the development of the local civilization was still in evidence. Indeed, the influence is evident in the handicrafts, fine arts, state and administrative structure and other spheres of social and cultural life. [134]

In circulation, too, Hellenistic influence was in force for a long time indeed. In the opinion of D. C. Sircar, "the custom to mention in legends the names of rulers who issue coins was dispersed by alien rulers in India far and wide", and the first of these rulers were the Hellenistic lords of the north-western part of the subcontinent. [135]

There was a reverse influence, however. The Hellenic world took much of Indian philosophy, mathematics and medicine. Arrianus (referring to Nearchos) states that Alexander already "collected and kept the most adept physicians in India". The Indian philosopher Kalanos is known to have been included in the monarch's suite. [136] Indian philosophy and religion exercised a considerable influence on the religious-philosophical systems of the Greek-Roman world: Neoplatonism and Gnosticism in the first centuries of our era and through their medium even on early Christianity.

It would be misleading to conceive the Hellenization of the top of the slave-owning society and part of the urban population of North-Western part of the subcontinent as the outcome of extensive Graeco-Macedonian colonization of the Indus Basin. In his study of the problems of Hellenism on the materials of Near East and Middle Asia, M. M. Dyakonov came to the conclusion that

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[132] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 240—241, 442—445.

[133] J. Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 26.

[134] The Greek alphabet is known to have been used in the evolving of the Tokharian writing. As long ago as the late first millenium A. D. this writing was widespread in the territory of the present-day Afghanistan. It is by the fourth century A. D. that the Greek script disappeared in the Indus Valley (A. A. Фрейман, *Тохарский вопрос и его разрешение в отечественной науке*, стр. 127, 133—134. И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 161).

[135] Д. Ч. Сиркар, *Древние индийские надписи, стр.* 28; see also D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 110, 122—125, 175; J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...* Vol. I, p. 46; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India*, p. 79.

[136] Arrianus, *Indica*, XV, 11; Arrianus, *Anabasis*, VII, 2, 2—4; VII, 3, 1—6; see also: Plutarch, *Alexander*, 65, 69.

Hellenization was the ideological setting of a new, higher stage in the development of slave-owning formation. "The new phase in the development of slave-owning society in the Orient as far as the superstructure is concerned, took a distinct shape of Hellenism".[137] M. M. Dyakonov's conclusion may, it seems to me, be extended to the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

The materials available to the scholar today indicate that the north-western part of the subcontinent was an economically advanced province in the last centuries of the first millennium B. C. to the early first millennium of our era. Herodotus describes the Indians inhabiting the part of the subcontinent under the Achaemenids as the most numerous of all peoples known to him, a people who "paid (to the Achaemenids.—*Yu. G.*) a tribute which was great in comparison to the others".[138] The excavations at Taxila enable us to conclude that the level of the local craftsmanship and, in particular, iron making was very high: nearly all tools and weapons as early as the fourth century B. C. were made of iron.[139] That the Indians used iron weapons, e. g. iron-headed arrows in those times, is also attested by the ancient historians.[140]

The documents dating from the dawn of our era also show references to the high level of development of productive forces: thus, iron and steel were exported into other countries from the ports of the north-west of the subcontinent.[141] Strabon refers to the extensive development of farming production here; the climate and a high level of cultivation techniques helped to harvest two crops a year.[142]

Another source of evidence on the development of farming production is the export of rice, wheat, oil, Indian cotton and other produce grown in the heart of the mainland, and, in particular, in the so-called Indo-Scythia, i. e. the Indus Basin through Barbaricum and Barygaza (ports at the delta of the Indus and on the coast of the Gulf of Cambay) at the turn of our era.[143]

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[137] М. М. Дьяконов, *Очерки истории древнего Ирана*, стр. 157.

[138] Herodotus, *Istoria*, III, 94.

[139] Of the development of craftsmanship we can also judge from the description of Sakala we find in the *Milindapanha* (I, 2).

[140] Herodotus, *Istoria*, VII; 65; Q. Curti Rufi, *Historiarum Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, VIII, 10, 37.

[141] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 6.

[142] Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 13; XV, 1,20. This is what Plutarch wrote about the state of Taxila: "The lands Taxila possessed in India: were... remarkable for their high fertility and excellent grazing grounds" (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 59).

Of the extensive development of farming and handicraft production, which catered, in certain measure, to export, we can judge from Plinius's words that "at the lowest estimate" India takes "a hundred million sestertia from our empire" every year (*minimaque computatione miliens centena milia sestertium*) (Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, XII, 18, 84).

[143] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 27, 31, 32, 48.

Another line of evidence in support of the high (at that time) level of economic development and, in particular, commodity-money relations, in the north-western part of the subcontinent is the fact that it is here that the first so-called punch-marked coins in the fifth century B. C. appeared earlier than anywhere in India. It is worthwhile to note that this medium of exchange was of quite independent nature. Its shape (oblong or square) exercised later on an influence on Greek-Indian emission and its weight standard on the coins issued by the Hellenistic rulers of Bactria.[144] That these coins were in wide circulation as early as the fourth century B. C. is attested by Gurtius' words that the king of Taxila presented to Alexander, among other gifts, silver coins worth 80 talents.[145] At the same time, the abundance of copper coins unearthed at the excavations of this city indicates that money circulation had penetrated even retail commodity turnover.

The evidence cited on the growth of cities and on the development of crafts, trade and money circulation enables us to conclude that by the fourth and third centuries B. C. the economically advanced regions of the north-west of the subcontinent were prepared and ready to take a new, higher step in the development of slave-owning methods of production. The patriarchal slavery system aimed at the production of direct means of living gradually converted into a slave-owning system aimed at the production of the social surplus.[146]

It is Hellenism that became the ideological form and justification of this process under the concrete historical conditions existing in the north-western part of the subcontinent in the middle of the later half of the first millennium B. C. This was largely due to the age-old political as well as economic ties between the territories of the Indus Basin and the countries of Western Asia. These ties became especially strong after Alexander the Great's campaign and reached their climax (in the antiquity) at the turn of our era. The local aristocracy, as G. F. Ilian points out, "seems to have been gravitating more to the countries west and north-

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[144] В. М. Массон, *Древнеземледельческая культура Маргианы*, стр. 158.

[145] Q. Curti Rufi, *Historiarum Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, VIII, 12, 15-16.

[146] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III. pp. 326—327. In the basin of the Ganges, too, the conditions were ripe for transfer to a new, more progressive form of slave-owning organization in this period — a process which seems to be attested by the political history of this period. The establishment of the Maurya empire, with Magadha as its nucleus, shows that definite premises for the unification of the country into a state were already in evidence. An ever increasing demand for a constant influx of slaves and raw materials was a compelling force in the advanced slave-owning regions of the Ganges Valley. This influx came from the predatory wars waged by Chandragupta Maurya and his successors: a total of 150,000 people are known to have been taken prisoner by Ashoka's troops only during the conquest of Kalinga (see: Ashoka's rock edict XIII: *As'okan Inscriptions*, pp. 63—73).

west of Taxila than to the countries to the south of it, both economically and, by tradition, politically".[147] This is attested, among other things, by the numerous rebellions raised here against Mauryan rule.[148]

It would hardly be correct to regard wholesale, as some scholars do, as Greek the Yavanas (Yona or Yonana) who are mentioned in the Indian sources dating from the third and first centuries B. C. and the first centuries of our era. Of course, there were some Graeco-Macedonian settlers and their descendants among them. Yet the bulk of these Yavanas in the north-western part of the subcontinent were Hellenized members of the local population: the term Yavana, indeed, implied culture and not ethnic affiliation. On this score it is worthwhile to cite the direct statement made by Isocrates (436—338 B. C.) that in his time the name "Hellene' has come to denote a frame of mind, intellect, and not origin, and that the name 'Hellenes' is applied to those who have joined our culture".[149]

This seems to explain why in the rock inscription discovered near Junagadh a Mauryan vicegerent in Kathiawar, who was undoubtedly an Iranian as his name—Tushaspa—indicates (cf., Vishtaspa, the name of Darius I's father), is called a Yavana.[150] At the same time the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus made in the script Brahmi and dedicated to Krishna[151] must not necessarily be regarded as an evidence to the Indianization of the Greek: a Hellenized Indian might just as well have erected the column bearing this inscription. W. Tarn is right when pointing

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[147] Г. Ф. Ильин, *Древний индийский город Таксила*, стр. 22; see also: J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. I, pp. 21—22.

[148] For more information see: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Таксильская надпись Ашоки*, стр. 126—127. — (with a bibliography on this subject).

[149] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 50.

[150] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 171. For the proofs that the terms Yavana, Yona and Yonana are of Greek origin, see A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 165—169. Some scholars, attempting to explain the seeming contradiction between the term Yavana and the Iranian name Tushaspa, contend that in ancient Indian sources the term Yavana denoted any alien coming from the countries "nort-west of the borders" of India (see, for example, H. D. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, p. 105). This contention is hardly correct, since it is a fact that in ancient Indian sources there are not only one, but indeed several, and besides strictly definite, terms to denote members of the peoples living in the north-west of the Indus, e. g. the Pahlava (Parthians), the Shaka (Saka), etc. (*The Laws of Manu*, X. 44; *Mahabharata. Sabhaparva*, II, 48, 12—21, ff.). At the same time the *Milindapanha* (1, 2) describes the West Punjab as "the country of the Yonaña", because in the time of Menander the Hellenized members of the local aristocracy and the descendants of the Graeco-Macedonian invaders constituted here the ruling substratum of slave-owning society.

[151] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 90—91.

out that Greek names are of minor importance, because after 300 B. C. many Asians adopted them.[152]

Scanty Graeco-Macedonian settlers merged with the indigenous population rather rapidly; the practice of intermarriages initiated by Alexander[153] was undoubtedly a major contributing factor. However, Hellenism as an ideological superstructure lingered long after the descendants of these settlers had been completely assimilated. The top of society harboured the Greek language: by the testimony of Philostratus Fraotes, king of Taxila (the latter half of the first century A. D.) spoke Greek fluently.[154] It is in Greek, as Strabon states, that the message of the Indian king Por to the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 B. C. to A. D. 14) was composed.[155] Some scholars hold that Greek was fostered as a living tongue at the court of the Saka rulers in North-West India.[156]

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In the mid-second and the early first centuries B. C. a new wave of invaders, the Sakas, who have played an important role in the ethnogenesis of West Pakistan's peoples, swept the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

The incursion of the Sakas was an outcome of some major historical events that raged over the vast expances of Central Asia in the latter half of the second century B. C. The tribal unions of the Sakas and the Massagetae (the great Sakas)[157] that had established as early as the middle of the first millennium B. C. began to advance south and found themselves at the borders of the Parthian and Graeco-Bactrian states. This advance seems to have been caused by the pressure of the Huns (the Hiung-nu or Hsiung-nu), whose rulers in the first half of the second century B. C. had frequently devastated the Sakas and Massagetae roaming about east and north of the Tien-Shan.[158]

The western branch of the Sakas got the better of the Parthians[159] in a few severe battles and rushed into Eastern Iran. Here they occupied Drangiana and the south-western part of the pre-

[152] В. Тарн, *Эллинистическая цивилизация*, стр. 149, 151. According to Arrianus, Alexander decided that "the Persians would be given Macedonian names" (Arrianus, *Anabasis*, VII, 11, 3).

[153] Arrianus, *Anabasis*, VII, 4, 4—8.

[154] J. Charpentier, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 53.

[155] Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, 1, 73.

[156] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 321; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas tn India*, p. 80.

[157] From the Old Iranian *mas*, great, +the Old Iranian *saka* + *t*, a plural suffix (И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 65).

[158] Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений...*, т. II, стр. 147, 151, 179, 183—184.

[159] M. Juniani Justini, *Epitoma historiarum Phillippicarum Pompei Trogi*, XLII, 1, 2; XLII, 1, 5; XLII, 2, 2.

sent-day Afghanistan. The territories were now called Sakastan, the country of the Sakas, which has survived to the present day in the name of the historical province Seistan.[160] A Tokhari confederation headed by the Asiani[161] (Wu-sun in Chinese chronicles) crushed the Graeco-Bactrian state and occupied Bactria. This country was now called Tokharistan after the name of the new invaders. Several small states under Tokhari princes (Yabghus)[162] arose here, as well as on the territories farther north that were irrigated by the Kashka Darya and Zarafshan rivers.

Still farther east the Saka tribes coming from the Pamirs and the areas around the Tien-Shan made their way, under the pressure of the Asiani who advanced west, through the inaccessible passes of the Pamirs and entered the valleys of the Kabul and the Upper Indus.[163]

The advance of the Sakas ran parallel to the resettlement of some of the Saka tribes in the newly-conquered lands.[164] It is precisely this that must explain the emergence of the new ethnogeographical notions Sakastan and Tokharistan. The conquest of rich agricultural oases contributed to the accelerated disintegration of clan relationships among the Sakas. Ordinary nomads began to cultivate the fields,[165] thus merging with the indigenous farming population and losing their former self-reliance. As to the clan aristocracy of the Saka tribes, they would become the

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[160] The eastern and south-eastern borders of the present-day Seistan and Sakastan at the turn of our era do not coinside; the border of Sakastan seems to have run near Qandahar. It is possible that Sakastan comprised a territory stretching as far as the passes in the Suleiman Mountains (W. A. Fairservis, *Archaeological Studies*..., p. 33).

[161] Justin refers to the Asiani as "the kings of the Tokharifi—*reges thocarorum asiani* (M. Juniani Justini, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, Prologue to Chapter XLII). Justin's composition had a special chapter which is now missing: "How the Asiani Became Kings Among the Tokharifi". Strabon points out that "the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari and Sacarauli who had descended from the yonder bank of the Jaxartes took Bactria from the Hellenes" (Strabon, *Geographika*, XI, 8, 2).

[162] Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений*..., т. II, стр. 184, 227.

[163] Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений*, т. II, стр. 179, 190. The dating of the movement of the Saka-Massagetae tribes southward and south-westward is a matter of debate. A. M. Mandelshtam holds that the southward movement of the eastern Sakas took place somewhere between 160 and 140 B. C. (А. М. Мандельштам, *Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей*..., стр. 79). On other datings suggested by different scholars see: A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 133, 140—145.

[164] The Volkerwanderung of the Sakas southward, into the territories of Afghanistan and the Indus Basin is attested in the archaeological record. E. g., the settlements of the Apasiacae in the old delta of the Zhany Darya are found to have been disappearing in the middle of the second century B. C. "Of course, not the whole population", S. P. Tolstov writes, "abandoned the areas around the Syr Darya; a part of the population, true, a negligible one, remained and seems to have largely taken to a pastoral way of life" (С. П. Толстов, *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарта*, стр. 204).

[165] W. A. Fairservis, *Archaeological Studies*..., p. 33.

dominant stratum of the ruling class in the barbarian states which arose in the wake of the triumphant campaigns.

Of the political history of this period a great deal is still in suspense. The leaders of the Sakas in the Indus basin seem to have first acknowledged the power of the local Greek-Indian rulers. It is not until a few decades later that they felt themselves strong enough to lay claim to supreme suzerainship. Gandhara became the centre of the Saka domains, and the eastern capital city of it—Taxila—the Saka king Mavak (Maues or Mauakes in the ancient authors, and Moga in early Indian sources) [166] chose in the middle of the first century B. C. as its residence. Mavak's successors propagated their power over a considerable part of the Punjab.

In the first century B. C. the rulers of Sakastan advanced, under the pressure of the Parthians, through South Afghanistan and North Baluchistan as far east as the Middle Indus, and later reached the Lower Indus in Kathiawar, Gujarat and some other areas of Northern and Western India. It is possible that the Saka kings of the Punjab also took part in this southward and south-eastward movement. Yet political hegemony was in the hands of the chieftains of the western branch of the Sakas, the conquerors of Sakastan. [167] The Kshatrapa dynasties they had founded (the Kshaharata, the Karddamaka, etc.) ruled in Western India until the close of the fourth century of our era. In the north-west, in the Punjab, however, the Saka leaders' hold was short-lived. The dynasty founded by Mavak was overthrown by the Parthians as early as the beginning of the first century of our era.

In the Western Punjab, Upper Sind and Derajat, a number of warring rulers related to the Surens, a Parthian clan controlling the eastern areas of Iran, held sway. "The Parthian kings, who keep ousting one another, rule over this country". [168]

In the middle of the first century of our era, one of the Tokhari princes belonging to the Kushans—Kujula Kadphises—unified the dispersed Tokhari principalities. [169] As he grew stronger, the

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[166] D. Ch. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 109—110. For the identification of the names Maues and Moga see: J. E. Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period...*, pp. 337—343.

[167] S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India*, p. 5; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 235; V. A. Smith, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties...*, pp. 51—52.

[168] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 38.

[169] According to S. P. Tolstov it is most likely that the ancient centre of the Kushan dynasty was Kushania on the Zarafshan (С. П. Толстов, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации*, стр. 149). In the opinion of G. A. Pugachenkova, "the nucleus of the Kushan domain seems to have been lands bordering on Surkhan, but the domain itself stretched as far north-east as Kabadiyan and as far south-west as Termez". (Г. А. Пугаченкова, *К иконографии Герая*, стр. 134). N. A. Aristov believes that the centre of the original Kushan domain were lands in the basin of the

leader of the Kushans extended his suzerainship to the lands south of the Hindu Kush, in the Kabul Basin and on the Upper Indus. [170] Kujula Kadphises's successors, the most prominent of whom was Kanishka (circa A. D. 78—120) [171] kept on the expansive policy of his predecessor and took in the whole north-western part of the subcontinent (Kashmir, the Punjab and Sind.) The rulers of Gujarat, Rajasthan and the states lying in the Ganges-Jumna doab were the vassals of the Kushan kings. The Kushan kings also held control of the territory of the present-day Afghanistan, Kashgar, Khotan, Yarkand and the southern areas of Middle Asia. Gandhara, i. e., the territory lying in the valleys of the Kabul and the Middle Indus, became the centre of a vast empire. The city of Purushapura (the present-day Peshawar) is known to have been the capital of Kanishka.

The Kushan empire dissolved in the third century of our era. The Iranian shahs of the Sassanid dynasty took in the western territories, and the rulers of the Gupta empire the south-eastern territories. Various dynasties of Middle Asia took hold of th lar s north of the Hindu Kush.

In the latter half of the fifth century of our era, the territory of the north-western part of the subcontinent became a part of a new barbarian state—the empire of the Chionites or Ephtalites. [172] In the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries, there

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Kashka Darya River (Н. А. Аристов, *Этнические отношения на Памире и в прилегающих странах...*, стр. 10). For the survey of different points of view on the location of the Kushan principalities see: А. М. Мандельштам, *Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей...*, стр. 61—64.

[170] Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений...*, т. II, стр. 227—228.

[171] The dating of the Kushans is a matter of dispute. The dates of Kanishka's rule I have cited are accepted by most of the scholars. For the survey of different points of view on the dates of Kanishka see: Е. В. Зеймель, *Кушанская хронология*.

[172] Εφθαλιται or Αβδέλαι, and the White Huns, in the Byzantine authors; *abdel* in the Syrian chronicles; *Heptal* or *Tetalk* in the Armenian sources; *ye-tha* in the Chinese sources; هيطل — هيتال *haital* (*heital*) in the authors who wrote in Arabic and Farsi (see further: J. Marquart, *Eranšahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaci*, S. 58—59). On what territories the nucleus of the Ephtalite empire arose is a matter of dispute. S. P. Tolstov believes that it was the north-eastern edges of Khorezm (С. П. Толстов, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации*, стр. 209). Some scholars refer it to the Middle Kokcha River in Badakhshan, where at a later date we find the political centre of the barbarian state the Ephtalites had established (Л. Н. Гумилев, *Эфталиты и их соседи*, стр. 140; K. Enoki, "The Origin of the White Huns or Hepthalites", pp. 211—238; "On the Nationality of the Ephthalites." p. 36). Of special interest on this score are the toponymic data associated with this region: Khuttal-Khuttalan (a district stretching east of the Vakhsh River up to the Panj River) and Haftal or Jaftal, a glen in Badakhshan, north of Faizabad (e. g. in Babur's memoirs; see: *Babur Namah*, p. 234). According to A. A. Semenov, the latter toponym "may indicate that there were settlements of the Huns-Ephthalites one time in the area" (scolia to: Бурхан-ун-дин-хан-Кушкеки, *Каттаган и Бадахшан*, стр. 108).

were several clashes between the Chionites and Sassanid Iran; the Chionites were defeated and their westward advance came to a stop.[173] In the middle of the fifth century the leaders of the Chionites launched a new series of war campaigns against the states of the Indus Valley.

Around A. D. 460 they conquered Gandhara.[174] At the end of the fifth century Toramana, a leader of the Chionites, subjugated the Punjab, Sind, Radjasthan and the Ganges-Jumna doab. As far as the available evidence goes, Malwa was the centre of his empire. The local princes usually stayed on in their domains on condition that they paid tribute to the chief of the Chionites whose capital under the successor of Toramana was moved into Sakala (the Punjab) near the present-day Sialkot. The ruler of Sakala was evidently a vassal of the supreme king of the Chionites whose residence was in North-Eastern Afghanistan.[175]

The inroads of the Chionites in the basin of the Indus involved the migration of some of the tribes of the Chionites empire into the lands under the Chionite rulers, and this changed to a certain extent the ethnic character of the territories under the Chionites-Ephtalites. This is attested by the new ethnogeographical names that emerged in that period. Some of them were long in use after the disolution of the Chionites-Ephtalites empire and even have survived to this day. As late as the seventh century of our era, the Western Punjab, as attested in the *Harshacharita* which praises the deeds of the founder of the Harsha dynasty, bore the name Hunadesha, i. e. the country of the Huna (Chionites).[176] One of the foothill areas north of Kanauj was called Haital,— هيتال.[177]

Finally, the name of one of the major historical provinces and one of the Indian states—Gujarat (Gujartra, Gurjarathabhumi, Gurjararashtra and Gurjaramandala in the early Middle Ages)—descends from one of the tribes of the Chionite confederation Gu-

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[173] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri*, XVI, 9, 3—4; XVII, 5, 1; XVIII, 6, 22; XIX, 1, 7.

[174] J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations...*, Vol. 1, p. 75; *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 38. According to K. Enoki, Gandhara was occupied after A. D. 477. (K. Enoki, "On the Nationality of the Ephthalites", p. 27).

[175] E. Chavannes believes that Bamiyan was the principal capital city of the Chionites-Ephtalites empire, and Balkh was the subordinate capital city (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 224).

[176] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 27, 101.

[177] *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sh. 15-b. That the ethnogeographical terms which owe their origin to the incorporation of the Indus Basin into the state of the Ephtalites were wide-spread is evident from the fact that they have found their way even into the Old Russian writing in which the northern part of the subcontinent is often called Эфилат (*Efilat*) or *земля Эфилатская* (*Efilat land*), i. e. Ephtalite country.

rjaras (whose emergence in Northern India dates from the time of the foundation of the Chionite-Ephtalite empire).[178]

Towards the middle of the sixth century the empire of the Chionites-Ephtalites began to decline. In A. D. 533, Mihiragula, a Chionite leader in North-Western India, was overwhelmed by a coalition of local rajahs. But it is Sassanid Iran and the West-Turkish khakanate that dealt, in their joint effort, a dealy blow to the might of the Chionites. Around A. D. 567, the Chionite empire dissolved, and most of the present-day Afghanistan and lands west of the Indus were incorporated into the empire of Khusraw I Anushirwan or fell into the dominion of Sassanid Iran.[179] The Turks took in the northern and north-eastern areas of the Chionite empire.[180] A group of rivalling Indian rajahs carved the territories east of the Indus. In certains region, however, rulers related genetically to the clan aristocracy of the Chionite-Ephtalite tribes, managed to hold on.

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It is very difficult to describe ethnographically the Kushana-Tokharian and Chionite-Ephtalite tribes, whose clan aristocracy became, through triamphant invasions, the ruling top crust of the dominant class in the vast Kushan state and in the Chionite-Ephtalite empire.

The Tokharians, who on the point of their advance into the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom occupied territories north of the Middle Amu Darya, seem not to have been primeval denizens of these places. The Chinese chronicles, whose origin dates from the second century B. C., indicate that before the Huns defeated them and drove them westward, the invaders of Bactria occupied the eastern edges of Central Asia. This people (Tokharians) the Chinese sources call the Yueh-chi (Yüe-chi).[181] It is important to note that "a small portion of the Yueh-chi people could not fol-

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[178] H. D. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Georgaphy and Ethnography of Gujarat*, p. 83; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 160—162, 163; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 277.

[179] At-Tabari, *Tarikh ar-Rasul wa-l-Muluk*, pp. 894, 899.

[180] "When he smashed the chieftain of the Abdel tribe (I mean those who are known as the Ephtalites) this khagan overcame them and gained the ascendancy over them." (Theophylacti Symocattae, *Historia*, VII, 7, 8).

[181] "In the beginning the Yueh-chi dynasty abode in a country between Dunhuang and the Tsilyanshan range and, when the Huns overran in, forsook the place, proceeded from Ta-yüan (Ferghana — *Yu. G.*) westward, attacked Ta-hia (Bactria—*Yu. G.*) and conquered this domain; as a result of which did they set up their abode on the northern side of the Kui-shui River (Amu Darya—*Yu. G.*)" (Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih-chi*, Chapter 123; Pan Ku, *C'ien-Han-Shu*, Chapter 95; Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений*, т. II, стр. 151, 183—184).

low the others" in the westward migration and remained to stay in the old territories of their residence.[182]

The investigators of Eastern Turkestan in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries have established that the oases by which the great desert Takla Makan was hemmed in the northeast in the first half of the first millennium of our era were inhabited by the speakers of kindred Indo-European languages. Originally the languages were termed provisionally Tokharian A (which prevailed in Turfan and Karashar) and Tokharian B (which prevailed in Kucha).[183] It is more to the point to call the group as Academician B. Ya. Vladimirtsov did as long ago as 1925, the Kuchano-Karasharian languages, and not the Tokharian.[184]

The Kuchano-Karasharian languages represented a special group of the Indo-European languages, which is now obsolete. The provenance of this group bordered on the Baltic and Slavic languages, on the one hand, and the Greek, Armenian and Thraco-Phrygian languages, on the other. This means that the cradle of the tribes to which the forefathers of the speakers of the Kuchano-Karasharian languages belonged was situated between the Dnieper and the Ural.[185] When and under what circumstances

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[182] Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений...*, т. II, стр. 151. The ethnic affiliation of the Yueh-chi people and its identification with the peoples known to us in the records of the ancient historians and geographers is still a matter of linely controversy. S. Konow identifies the Yueh-chi with the Massagetae, regarding them as a union of East-Iranian tribes. He contends that the ethnic names Ta yueh-chi (Great Yueh-chi) in the Chinese chronicles and Massagetae in the ancient authors descend from a single origin, as being the rendering of the ethnic name Great Sakas (S. Konov, *On the Nationality of the Kuṣanas*, S. 91; 100).

S. P. Tolstov also regards the Yueh-chi as a Massaget tribal union which comprised the Chorasmii, Sacaraucae, Derbices, Apasiacae, Attasii, Tokhari (or Dahae) and the Asiani (Asii or Yatii) (С. П. Толстов, *Древний Хорезм*, стр. 244; *Подъем и крушение империи эллинистического «Дальнего Востока»*, стр. 207). K. V. Trever, who indentifies the Yueh-chi with the Tokharians indicates that "it was evidently a union of different tribes", among which "the Kushans predominated" (К. В. Тревер, *Памятники греко-бактрийского искусства*, стр. 8). W. Tarn is inclined to identify them with the Asii-Asiani (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 282—295). R. Majumdar regards the Yueh-chi as Turks (R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 126). For a bibliography of the works dealing with this matter see: И. И. Умняков, *Тохарская проблема*, стр. 181—183; А. Н. Бернштам, *Новые работы по тохарской проблеме*, стр. 134—138; в сб. «Тохарские языки», стр. 203—218; Ю. Н. Рерих, *Тохарская проблема*, стр. 118—123.

[183] For the names Tokharian A and Tokharian B adopted for the Indo-European languages of Kucha-Karashar-Turfan and for the debate on this matter, see: В. Краузе, *Тохарский язык*, — в сб.: «Тохарские языки», стр. 43—47.

[184] Б. Я. Владимирцов, *Монг...* I, стр. 310; В. В. Иванов, *Генеалогическая классификация языков и понятие языкового родства*, стр. 136; *К определению названия «тохарского В» языка*, стр. 188—190.

[185] Э. Бенвенист, *Тохарский и индоевропейские языки*, — в сб.: «Тохарские языки», стр. 105, 107; see also: W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebites*, S. 182—187. In the opinion of Academician V. Georgiev, "in very remote times the ancestors of the Germans, Balto-

did the forefathers of the Kuchano-Karasharian speakers inhabit areas north of the Takla Makan we do not know.

Analysing the fragments of a bilingual (in Tokharian B and Sanskrit) manuscript from the collection of the Leningrad Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Srudies, V. S. Vorobyev-Desyatovsky established that the speakers of Tokharian B called themselves *Kuchañne*. "It is from this word", he points out, "that the name of the *küsän* language occurring in the colophons of the old Uighur manuscripts descends."[186] The fragments of one of the Saka manuscripts dating from the seventh and eighth centuries tell of the Khocha people, whose warriors had devastated Khotan.[187] These ethnic and ethnolinguistic names (Kuchañne, Khocha, küsän) "can be correlated", as Vorobyev-Desyatovsky believes, with the ethnic name Kushan which is known from the legends of the Kushan coins and the monuments of Indian epigraphy.[188] It is important to note that in the Sanskrit section of the document he studied the term Kuchañne corresponds to the Sanskrit *tokharika* (Tokharian).

It seems to me that Vorobyev-Desyatovsky's discovery enables us to regard the speakers of the Kuchano-Karasharian languages in the middle of the first millennium of our era as descendants of the "small portion of the Yueh-chi people", which, as the above-cited Chinese chronicle says, "could not follow the others" and remained in the eastern fringe of Central Asia. As for the bulk of the Yueh-chi, they kept absorbing East-Iranian and Massaget-Sakan ethnolinguistic elements as they advanced west. As they moved farther south-west and south well into the interior of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, therefore, the Yueh-chi, or Tokhari, as some neighbouring peoples called them, appeared now as a component of the Saka-East-Iranian tribal union. When they overran Bactria (according to W. B. Henning) the Tokhari adopted the vernacular of the indigenous population.[189] The studies of

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Slavs and Tokharians formed a distinct Northern Indo-European dialectic groups, which at a very early date isolated from the Indo-European pra-language and later (probably in the fourth or the fourth and third millennia B. C.) broke down into the German, Balto-Slavic and Tokharian languages". В. Георгиев, *Балто-славянский и тохарский языки*, стр. 15, 19—20).

[186] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Памятники центрально-азиатской письменности*, стр. 306. The Naf-namak, a ninth-century Sogdian list of peoples, appears to confirm that Vorobyev-Desyatovsky's conclusion that the self-name of the speakers of Tokharian B was Kuchañne is right. (For the publication see: W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, pp. 8—11). In this monument mention is made of the *kwcyk* (Kuchean) people who, judging from the context, inhabited a territory between Khotan and Karashar.

[187] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Новые листы сакской рукописи «E»...*, стр. 68.

[188] В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *Памятники центрально-азиатской письменности*, стр. 308, примечание 46.

[189] W. B. Henning, "The Bactrian Inscription", pp. 47—48; A. Maricq, "La grande inscription de Kaniska... p. 345; Bactrien ou étéo-tokharien?", pp. 161—166.

Russian scholars (A. Stael-Holstein, 1908; A. A. Freiman, 1952) allow us to contend that the language of the ethnic group which became the ruling stratum of the Kushan empire—the language of the Tokhari (and the Kushans)—is "an East-Iranian language possessing certain features which make it akin to Khotanian, Maralbashi and other Sakian dialects of Middle and Central Asia".[190] In particular, the East-Iranian origin of the Kushan title *yavuga*, which means a chief, leader, is beyond doubt.[191]

The evidence of paleoanthropology, as well as historical sources, indicates that as they advanced west the Yueh-chi must have been absorbing exclusively Europoid elements, as far as anthropology is concerned, and East-Iranian elements, as far as language is concerned.

Soviet scientists have established that although the Sakas and Massagetae were anthropologically heterogeneous, the types of the Europoid major race were predominant among them. It is only from the third and second centuries B. C. onward that the population of the eastern areas of Middle Asia began to show timedly Mongoloid features.[192] Even in Eastern Turkestan in the first millennium B. C. the population descending from the Middle Asian (more accurately, Seven-River) tribes was a dominant component, i. e. Europoid anthropological types prevailed here as well.[193]

In addition to paleoanthropologic evidence, the Chinese chronicles also indicate that Europoids inhabited the oases surrounding the Takla Makan in the north. "From Kao-ch'ang (Turfan) westward the inhabitants of all domains have sunken eyes and raised nose".[194] The setlled population of the oases west and south of the Takla Makan (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, etc.) had also Europoid anthropologic features; "tall, red- (or fair-) haired, and blue-eyed".[195] As for the nomadic population of Altyn Tagh, Khotan and Yarkand, they were of mixed nature; tribes of East-Iranian (Sakian) origin prevailed in the west, and tribes related to the Tibetian in the east.[196]

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[190] А. А. Фрейман, *Тохарский вопрос и его разрешение в отечественной науке*, стр. 133. Some other scholars share this conclusion. See, for example, S. Konow, "On the Nationality of the Kusanas," S. 91; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, pp. 38—39.

[191] H. W. Bailey, *Languages of the Saka*, p. 136.

[192] В. В. Гинзбург, *Материалы к палеоантропологии восточных районов Средней Азии*, стр. 96; *Основные вопросы палеоантропологии Средней Азии...*, стр. 29; Т. А. Трофимова, *Материалы по палеоантропологии Хорезма и сопредельных областей.*

[193] А. Н. Бернштам, *Проблемы истории Восточного Туркестана*, стр. 60.

[194] *Pei-shih*, Chapter 97.

[195] ...Hominum magnitudinem, rutilis comis, caeruleis oculis (Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, VI, 22 (24), 88). Plinius (A. D. 23—79) derived this from the Ceylon envoys who visited Rome.

[196] Pan Ku, *C'ien-Han-Shu*, Chapter 95; Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений*, т. II, стр. 178. On ethnic connections of the Tokhari

Of the population of the oases west and south of the Takla Makan we know that they were the speakers of related dialects of an East-Iranian language known in literature as Saka-Khotanian or Khotanian.[197] S. Konow holds that this language has several features common with Pamir East-Iranian dialects.[198] The material culture of the local population bears some distinct features of the ancient Iranian Culture with a strong manifestation of the ancient tradition and Indian influence.[199]

Thus, even if during the initial stages of their advance from east to west the ancestors of the Middle-Asian Tokharians drew any non-Indo-European tribes, these shoud have dissolved in the East-Iranian Sakian-Massaget ethnolinguistic medium quite rapidly.

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The ethnogenesis and ethnic character of the Chionites-Ephthalites cannot be regarded as a settled matter. A number of scholars regard the Ephthalites as Turks.[200] F. Altheim, the author

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and the Tibetian tribes see: Ю. Н. Рерих, *Кочевые племена Тибета*, стр. 8; *Память о тохарах в Тибете*, стр. 140—143.

[197] The self-name of this language was *hvatanau* or *hvamno* Khotanian, (H. W. Bailey, "Languages of the Saka", p. 132). The Buddhist pilgrims who visited Khotan in the second quarte of the seventh century of our era said with reference to the writting of the local population that their script was similar to the Indian, and although the characters were somewhat modified, these modifications were insignificant (see, for example, Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki*, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 489).

[198] S. Konov, "On the Nationality of the Kusanas", S. 91. For the characteristic of the Saka-Khotanian language see: И. М. Оранский, *Иранские языки* стр. 91—94; Л. Г. Герценберг, *Хотано-сакский язык*. Some scholars associate the name of one of the Saka state formations north-west of Kashgar (*iwän-d'ouk* in the rendering of the Chinese chronicles of the second century B. C.) with the self-name of a small East-Iranian nationality in the modern East Afghanistan—the Yidga (H. W. Bailey, *Language of the Saka*, p. 132). Another source of evidence on the language of the population of Eastern Turkestan at the turn of our era is the record of toponymy which shows that "the earliest stratum of Sinkiang's toponymic stratigraphy is Indo-European. Among the names of major sites mention should be made of Kashgar, Khotan, Lob, Hami, Ebi Nor and many others" (Э. М. Мурзаев, *Топонимика Синьцзяна*, стр. 15.)

[199] А. Н. Бернштам, *Проблемы истории Восточного Туркестана*, стр. 31; It is quite possible that in the south-western part of East Turkestan there were small colonies founded by emigrants from Northern India at the turn of our era. In this connection it is important to draw attention to the name of this area, which lay "more to the north than many of the Indian tribes", Serindia, which occurs in Procopius (Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, IV, 17, 1—2).

[200] See, for example, А. Бернштам, *Некоторые данные к этногенезу туркмен*, стр. 200. *Очерк истории гуннов*, стр. 185; R. N. Erye, A. M. Sayili, "Turks in the Middle East Before the Saljuqs", pp. 204—207. J. Marquart was inclined towards the same opinion; he regarded the ancestors of the Ephalites as certain Turk tribes, e. g. the Khalach (Kholach) or Khalaj, who had played a vital rôle in the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns (J. Marquart, *Eranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaci*, S. 253—254).

of one of the latest works in which this contention is well-documented, identifies the Ephthalites with the Kidarites. [201] Associating the ethnonym Kidarites with the proto-Turkish **ki-dir-kidär* (west) he has recovered, the author concludes that the Kidarites are the Western Huns. [202] In his opinion, the Ephtalites, who were also the Kidarites, turn out to be the Turkish-speaking Huns who headed a confederation of Iranian tribes of the Chionites and later underwent Iranization. [203]

S. P. Tolstov contends that the Ephtalites sprang up from local Middle-Asian Massaget-Alan and alien Hunnish elements. [204] R. Ghirshman holds that the Chionites (the ruling dynasty of whom was called, in his opinion, the Ephtalites) were a union of Iranian tribes or nationalities related to the Kushanas. [205] N. V. Pigulevskaya also considers the Ephtalites ethnically akin to the Kushanas. [206] W. M. Mac Govern, S. Konow, K. Enoki and some other scholars defend the viewpoint that the Ephtalites are a confederation of tribes of East-Iranian origin. In the support of their view they cite some facts which indicate that the Ephtalites were Iranian speakers. [207]

On the strength of the available evidence the concept of the Ephtalites as a confederation of East-Iranian tribes appears to be most substantiated. The nucleus of this confederation took shape near the north-eastern border of Sassanid Iran in the beginning of the fourth century of our era and comprised tribes descending from the ancient Sakian-Massaget population of this area. The dissolution of the Kushan state and the rise of the Ephtalite confederacy wrought no appreciable changes in the ethnic map of this part of Middle Asia. "Territory and population were the same; the only thing that was new was the ruling top, namely the tribal union of the Chionites who had come from the same large

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[201] The state of the Kidarites flourished in the north of the present day Afghanistan and in the south of Middle Asia in the latter half of the fourth cenury of our era. The founder of the state—Kidara—was a member of the Kushan-descending dynasty which ruled Bactria (Tokharistan).

[202] F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, S. 32—33.

[203] *Ibid.*, S. 52—53. F. Altheim's hypothesis has met vigorous opposition and appears to be wrong (see A. M. Mandelshtam's review of F. Altheim's book in: «Народы Азии и Африки», 1962, № 3, стр. 201—203).

[204] С. П. Толстов, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации*, стр. 213, 245; Работы Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции АН СССР в 1949—1953 гг., стр. 252.

[205] R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, pp. XIII, 115—120.

[206] Н. В. Пигулевская, *Сирийские источники по истории народов СССР*, стр. 47.

[207] See, for example, K. Enoki, *On the Nationality of Ephthalites*, pp. 23, 39—40. On the language of the Ephtalites see also: R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, pp. 61—67. The Chinese chronicles of the fifth-sixth centuries indicate that the language of the Ephtalies was quite different from Mongolian, Uighur and Turkish [(*Pei-Shih*, Ch. 97); Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений...*, т. II, стр. 268]. It should be noted that the extant proper names of the Ephtalites seem to be Iranian in origin.

Massagetian union as the Kushanas".[208] According to S. P. Tolstov, the Chionite union had as one of its components tribes of the Middle-Asian Tokharians, and the Augasians of the Lower Syr Darya.[209] The Chinese chronicles are straightforward in this respect: "The proprietary dynasty of the Ye-tha (the Ephtalites) is of the same descent as the Great Yueh-chi", "is a branch of the Great Yueh-chi".[210] A. N. Bernshtam believes that the Avars also took part in the formation of the Ephtalite tribal union.[211]

At a certain, comparatively late phase of the Chionite confederacy (probably early in the fifth century),[212] the Ephtalite clan (or tribe), whose name later extended, as is often the case in the history of early state formations, to all ethnic components of the Chionite confederacy, came to the fore (or ultimately attained ascendancy). Right up to the fall of the Ephtalite empire the confederacy remained thoroughly East-Iranian. It might, and evidently did, comprise, some non-Iranian tribes (amidst other Turkish or proto-Turkish tribes)[213] as well as separate tribes of the Huns who had roamed westward: into Seven Rivers Area and the Alai Mountain in the Tien-shan.[214]

The incorporation of the latter tribes in the Chionite confe-

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[208] К. В. Тревер, *Кушаны, хиониты и эфталиты по армянским источникам IV—VII вв.*, стр. 135. Studying the sources of the fourth—seventh centuries Trever has come to one important conclusion that "the country and people under the Ephtalites continued to go by the name of Kushan, while king and army, i. e., the top of society and some portion of the army belonging, evidently to another tribal union, were called Ephtalites." (*ibid.*, стр. 143). The ethnic kinship of the Chionites-Ephtalites and the Kushanas is supported not only by historical sources, but also by the materials of the history of culture (see: К. А. Иностранцев, *Венец индо-скифского царя, тюрбан индийцев в античном искусстве и женский головной убор Кафиристана*, стр. 135—138).

[209] С. П. Толстов, *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарта*, стр. 196.

[210] Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений...*, т. II, стр. 268, 286, 322.

[211] А. Н. Бернштам, *Очерк истории гуннов*, стр. 190.

[212] This seems to explain the fact that in the extant sources the ethnonym Ephtalite springs up nearly a century later than the ethnonym Chionite; the first reference to the Chionites occurs in Ammianus Marcellinus in his account of the events of A. D. 356, while the first evidence on the Ephtalites we find in Lazar Parbeci (A. D. 457).

[213] The presence of the Turkish ethnic element in the Ephtalite confederacy is attested in the records of archaeology and paleoanthropology (see: С. П. Толстов, *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарта*, стр. 232—244. The book also contains a bibliography on this subject), as well as the records of written evidence which indicate that when the Ephtalite state was in existence in the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent there emerged such an important socio-political term of Turkish origin as tegin (tch'e-k'in in the Chinese pilgrims); see: E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 225; J. Marquart, *Eranšahr nach der Geographie des Moses Xorenaci*, S. 211—212; H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 59).

[214] It is highly difficult to describe the Huns ethnically. For an exposition of the various theories on this matter and an extensive bibliography see: К. Иностранцев, *Хунну и гунны*. Inostrantsev himself contends that

deracy was facilitated, among political and socio-economic factors, by the fact that a clear-cut ethnic borderline hardly existed between a part of the tribes of the Chionite confederacy (living in the north-eastern fringe of it) and the Western Huns in the fourth and fifth centuries. As they moved west, the Huns underwent substantial miscegenation, mixing with the Europoid population of Eastern Turkestan who were, in the main, of East-Iranian stock. Anthropologically, the Huns of Talas, the Tien-shan and Alai "are characterized by a very slight admixture of Mongoloid blood", and their Europoid traits were gaining more and more prominence throughout the second and fourth centuries because of the direct incorporation of some part of the native population in the Western Hunnic tribes. [215]

In addition to East Iranian, proto-Turkish (Turkish) and Hunnic tribes, the Chionite confederacy also comprised (probably at a later stage, not earlier than the fifth century at any rate) the Indo-Aryan nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes inhabiting the present-day North-Eastern and Eastern Afghanistan. One of these tribes were the Gurjaras whose emergence in the north-western part of the subcontinent in the late fifth and the early sixth centuries is associated with the Chionite winnings.

It seems worthwhile to discuss the origin of the ethnic name Chionite and the relationship between the ethnonyms Chionite, Ephtalite and White Hun. The problem, indeed, has long been a matter of lively discourse.

We find references to the Chionites (*hyaona*) as long ago as the *Avesta*. This ethnic name in the form of *hyōn* also occurs in some of the Middle-Persian literary monuments dating from the Parthian period: the *Bundahishn* (*The Creation of the Elements*), a book concerned with the genesis of the world, and the *Yatgar-i Zareran* (*The Zarer Legend*), a book dealing with the war between Iran and the Chionites. [216]

The etymology and origin of the ethnonym Chionite is still obscure. Some scholars derive it from the totemic name *kun* (glutton). [217] As to the ethnonym Ephtalite (Hephthalite), it

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"the nucleus and the ruling tribe, as much as the bulk of the Hun people, were of Turkish origin" (*ibid.*, p. 96).

There seems no doubt today that the Huns were a Turkish speaking people. It is possible that "the Hun language was a common one for the ancestors of the Turks and the Mongols" (*ibid.*, p. 49). In the opinion of N. A. Baskakov, the differentiation of the Turkish and Mongol languages was complete before the third century B. G. (Н. А. Баскаков, *Тюркские языки*, стр. 32, with a bibliography on the Hun language).

[215] В. В. Гинзбург, *Материалы к палеоантропологии восточных районов Средней Азии*, стр. 88—89, 96.

[216] For more information see: И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 166, 169; Е. Э. Бертельс, *История персидско-таджикской литературы*, стр. 74—79; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 116.

[217] For more information see: Н. В. Пигулевская, *Сирийские источники...*, стр. 48.

seems to be related etymologically to the Iranian *hapta*, seven.[218] It is possible that this ethnonym comes from the proper (perhaps, throne of dynastic) name of the Chionite-Ephtalite ruler Ephthalan (Ephthalin), which is recorded in some sources.[219] It is also probable that this is the name of the clan at the head of the Chionite union extended later to all the component tribes.[220]

As to the name White Huns occurring in the Western (Byzantine and Syrian) sources with reference to the Ephtalites some scholars account it for the similar sounding of the ethnonyms *hyon* and *hun*.

As K. V. Trever notes, the authors of the chronicles might apply this name to "any Asiatic nomadic people who reminded them of the Huns in one way or other",[221] as the term Turk was used in the same indiscriminate way at a later date. It is probable, however, that the name White Huns is based on the misinterpretation (verbatim translation) by the Byzantine and Syrian chroniclers of a social category similar to the later Turkish notion "white bone" (where the word "bone" means a clan, generation). This social category possibly dates from the exogamic division associated with clan organization. It turned into an ethnic category in the authors of the chronicles.

The anthroplogical peculiarities of the Chionites may also have been responsible for the name White Huns. The authors of the chronicles might use this ethnonym to specify the Chionites as a light-skinned and fair-haired ethnic formation distinct from the other dark-skinned nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes known to them (as *leücoe aethiopes*—the White Ethiopians—in Plinius and Ptolemaei).[222] In this connection it should be noted that the Byzantine and Syrian historians, far from taking the White Huns—the Chionite-Ephthalites—for the Huns who had overrun Eastern and Central Europe, emphasized the anthropological and cultural-ethnographical distinctions of the two.[223]

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[218] К. В. Тревер, *Эфталитское государство*; К. В. Тревер, А. Ю. Якубовский, М. Э. Воронец, *История народов Узбекистана*, стр. 126.

[219] In the anthology of the Byzantine Patriarch Photius (the ninth century) we find a direct reference that the (Ephtalite) people derived their name from King Ephthalin who ruled in the fifth century. E. Chavannes identifies Ephthalin with King Akhshunwar who defeated the Parthian king Peroz in A. D. 484. (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*, p. 223). Similar evidence occurs in the Chinese chronicles (*T'ang-shu*, Ch. 221, Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), *Собрание сведений...*, т. II, стр. 322).

[220] For more information see: R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*. pp. XII—XIII, 115.

[221] К. В. Тревер, *Кушаны, хиониты и эфталиты по армянским источникам...*, стр. 144.

[222] Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, VI, 8, 43; Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, IV, 6, 17.

[223] Cf., for example, the description of the Huns and the Chionites in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Rerum gestarum libri*, XXXI, 2, 1—2; XVIII, 6, 22, ff); Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, 1, 3; 2, 4. See also: Н. В. Пигулевская, *Сирийские источники*.... стр. 37, 48—50.

The contribution of the tribes of the Saka-Tokharian and Ephtalite confederations who had advanced into the Indus Basin to the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was immense.

It took a fairly short time for the newcomers to have adopted the social structure of Indian society. [224] In many of the North-Indian states the clan aristocracy of the Saka-Tokharian and Chionite-Ephtalite tribes became the ruling stratum of the dominant class. As to the commoners, they settled down in the towns or in the lands they had taken possession of, and little by little mixed with, and became a part of, the indigenous land cultivaters and artisans. Some scholars associate this process with the formation of the Jats, Ahirs and some other castes. [225] As they underwent Indianization, the alien elements transmitted at the same time certain features of their culture and ideology to the indigenous population. This is demonstrably attested in the narrative sources, as well as in the records of archaeology and numismatics: the coins issued by the Kushan rulers as early as the first and second centuries of our era represent the Buddhistic and Hindu religious symbols, as well as the Hellinistic and East-Iranian ones. [226] "The fusion of the local Indian and Greek cults with the Middle-Asiatic Zoroastrian cults brought by the Kushans" was in progress; this religious syncretism became a stepping-stone to "Mahayana (Great Vehicle), a northern branch of Buddhism which developed at a later stage". [227] The Gandhara art, whose origin as the result of the synthesis of the local Indian and the outside Hellinistic and Middle-Asiatic elements we have mentioned above, was on the upgrade. The influence of the latter elements is also attested in the artifacts of the third-fourth century artizans and jewellers of Beghram and Taxila, which have a number of features common with the ornaments found in the Scythian-Sarmatian burials excavated in the steppes around the Black and Caspian Seas. [228]

The extant historical sources show that the ruling dynasties in many of the small as well as large principalities that arose in the north-western part of the subcontinent in that time were genetically related to the clan aristocracy of the Saka-Tokharian

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[224] S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India*, pp. 84—96. D. C. Sircar points out that for all their foreign background the successors of the Kushan rulers were looked upon in India as the Kshatryas (D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 234—235).

[225] V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, pp. 172—173.

[226] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 124—125, 142.

[227] С. П. Толстов, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации*, стр. 152—153.

[228] For the intercourse of the Tokharian tribes with the world around the Black Sea, see: С. П. Толстов, *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарта*, стр. 189—193, with an extensive bibliography on this subject.

and Chionite tribes. The Maitraka dynasty, which ousted the Guptas in Kathiawar at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. and founded a state of their own with a capital at Vallabhi, was probably of East-Iranian origin. There is no doubt that the dynasty of Gurjara Pratihara (the eighth-ninth centuries) which first ruled in Marwar, Rajasthan, and then took over most of Northern India; the Guhilot dynasty of Anandapur in Gujarat; and the dynasties dispersed over the Punjab and Rajasthan in the early Middle Ages were all related to the Gurjaras. It is possible that the Chalukya dynasty in Deccan had also affinity with the Gurjaras. Most of the Rajput ruling houses which, like the Pratihara claimed descend from the sun (the Suryavanshi or Surajbansi) and, like the Agnikula (fire-begotten) dynasty, worshipped the sun can be regarded as being of East-Iranian Tokharian and Chionite origin. In this connection it is important to note that one of the thirty six Rajput clans has preserved the name Hun, which seems to point to its genetic relationship with the Chionites.[229]

Thus the Saka-Tokharian and Chionite tribes in the territory of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Rajasthan played a major role in the formation of that part of the ethnic elements from which the present-day Gujaratis and Rajasthanis have eventually evolved. Nor did these tribes exercise a less serious influence on the formation of the nationalities of the foothill and mountainous areas in the north of the subcontinent. This influence appears to have been a recurrent one. At first, at the time of the establishment of the Kushan empire, the Saka-Tokharians made inroads into the area; later, in the middle of the first millennium A. D., the Chionite-Ephtalites followed suit; and finally, in the latter half of the first and the early second millennia A. D., numerous groups of the population of Rajasthan came from the south, including the Gurjaras, who had undergone considerable assimilation by that time and spoke dialects from which Rajasthani developed in the sequal.[230] In the foothill and mountainous areas the newcomers mixed with the indigenous Indo-Aryan and Dardic tribes[231].

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[229] For more information see: H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 74, 569—610; V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, pp. 164, 172—173; V. A. Smith, *The Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj*, pp. 53—55; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 101.

[230] One of the descendants of this wave of tribes seems to be the ethnic group of semi-nomads and land cultivators who inhabit today the northern areas of West Pakistan and speak Gujuri. Many scholars regard Gujuri as a dialect of Rajasthani (see, for example, G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 63).

[231] The Dardic tribes probably included the Khasas, who are mentioned in the *Puranas* as well as in the ancient Muslim authors. The ethnic group Khakka in present-day Kashmir is regarded by some scholars to be a distant descendant of this tribe (see, for example, D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 36, 63).

and formed a group of tribes and nationalities who spoke dialects of Western and Central Pahari.

The Ephtalite conquests resulted in the migration of a number of ethnic groups in India and Iran. A part of the Malavas (the Malloi in the ancient authors) seems to have been forced by the impacts of the conquerors to move from the Central Punjab into the north-eastern areas of the present-day Rajasthan. The ethnonym Malava gave rise to the medieval name of this region: Malwa. The descendants of the Malavas who migrated into Central India later made a contribution to the ethnogenesis of the Rajasthani feudal nationality.

In Northern Iran the pressure of the Ephtalites forced some part of the north-western Iranian tribes nomadizing over the southern coasts of the Caspian Sea to move south-eastward towards Kirman (Kerman). [232] The union of these tribes formed a nucleus around which the Baluch nationality began to take shape as early as the latter half of the second millennium A. D.

The part the Saka-Tokharian and Chionite-Ephtalite tribes played in the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns and the Indo-Aryan peoples of West Pakistan we shall discuss below.

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The emergence under Magadha kings of a vast slave-owning state, which, as it has been established ultimately, embraced Bengal, [233] undoubtedly contributed to the Aryanization of the indigenous population. [234] The same period saw an intense dispersion of Sanskrit and of the Indo-Aryan vernacular dialects of Magadha and other areas of Madhyadesha. [235]

When the Maurya empire had dissolved in the second century B.C., a number of small slave-owning states arose in the north-east of the subcontinent. According to the ancient authors, [236] one of the states was "the country of Gangaridae" with the capital city of Gange in the Lower Ganges. D. C. Sircar indentifies

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[232] M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, p. 29.

[233] Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, *Эпиграфический документ Маурьев из Бенгала*, стр. 109—113; *Пракритская надпись Маурьев на брахми из Махастана (Бенгалия)*.

[234] There is no single view as yet among scientists as to what areas of Bengal were earlier than others to become Aryanized. According to D. C. Sircar, these were the northern and south-eastern areas of Bengal. S. K. Chatterji holds, on the contrary, that the western, northern and central parts of Bengal were the first to be Aryanized (D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 115; S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 73).

[235] S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, pp. 72—73.

[236] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, II, 216—220; *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 63; Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VII, 1, 81.

Gange with Gangasagara (South Bengal), one of the sacred cities of ancient India. He believes that the name of the city was often extended to embrace the whole country which was called Gangarashtra or Gangaradha. It is possible that it is these names that have come down to us in the distorted rendering of the ancient historians and geographers as "the country of Gangaridae". [237] The western frontier of "the country of Gangaridae" was, according to Ptolemaei, the Kambyson River, [238] the present-day Kasai River in Midnapur District; in the north-east of "the country of Gangaridae" was "the country of Maroundae". [239]

Evidently, the country of Gangaridae is ancient Vanga, and the country of Maroundae is Pundra, which struck out on their own after the dissolution of the Maurya empire.

A number of small states, sometimes independent, often recognizing the suzerainty of the stronger neighbours, arose in the territory of Bengal: Tamralipta (around the present-day Tamluk in South-Western Bengal), Suhma, known as Radha in later times (in Burdwan District, West Bengal) and Samatata (in Comilla region, East Pakistan).

In the valley of the Domadar River (Bankura District, West Bengal) there existed a small state called Pushkarana in the late third and the first half of the fourth centuries A. D. In the middle of the fourth century, Pushkarana was overrun by Samudragupta, a ruler of Magadha. [240] Among the states conquered by this monarch, the inscription of the Allahabad Pillar also refers to Davaka; possibly, this state was situated around Dacca. [241]

The frontiers of the Gupta empire (circa A. D. 320—500) stretched much farther north-east from Magadha than those of the Maurya empire. Thus, Kamarupa (Pragjyotisha) is known to have fallen under the yoke of the Guptas.

The Guptas held power in the lower expanses of the basin of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra as long as the early sixth century. The fall of this empire assisted in the ascendancy of the rulers of Gauda. [242] One of the Gauda kings Shashanka (the late sixth and the early seventh centuries)—succeeded in incorporating most of Bengal, East Bihar and North-Eastern Orissa in his domain. It is possible that Kamarupa also was ruled by his vassals. The establishment of a vast state under Gauda kings in

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[237] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 140, 173, 177.

[238] Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VII, 1, 18.

[239] *Ibid.*, VII, 2, 14.

[240] The inscription of Samudragupta on the Allahabad Pillar.

[241] For more information see: A. H. Dani, *Dacca*, pp. 15—17.

[242] Gauda occupied the territory of the present-day Murshidabad District and the southern part of Malda District in West Bengal. The capital of Gauda was Karnasuvarna (localized to the present-day Rangamati south of Murshidabad): (D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. pp. 98, 111, 113).

the north-eastern part of the subcontinent extended the name of the country of Gauda—Gaudadesha—to Pundra, Suhma (Radha) and the western areas of Vanga, i. e., most of the territory of Bengal incorporated in its domain.

The early Indian and ancient sources furnish evidence on the richness of the country in the lower expanses of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and on the high level of the local craftsmanship catering for export to a certain extent. The author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea pointed out that via "the trading post Gange... they export malabarthum, Gangetic nard, sea silk, and the so-called Gangetic exquisite sindons".[243] References to vangaka, a fabric from Vanga, and paundraka, a fabric from Pundra, we find also in the *Arthashastra*. The same monument shows evidence on the mining of silver in the country of Gauda.[244] The Chinese pilgrims produce testimony to the cities' wealth and the population's passion for sciences.[245] In the coastal areas, coasting and sea trade was flourishing and the population was famous for their skillful seafarers.

The evidence available on the ethnic character of the population of the Lower Ganges and Brahmaputra in the fourth century B. C. and the sixth century A. D. is scanty. Anthropologiically, Equatorial (Negro-Astraloid) traits seem to have predominated in the population. The Chinese travellers noted that they were of short stature and dark-skinned.[246] That the populaton of Bengal in a later period was dark-skinned is also attested in the Indian sources of the early Middle Ages (e. g. Dakshiniyachihna's treatise *Kuvalayamalakatha* composed in the northern part of the present-day Madhya Pradesh about A. D. 778).[247] In the north-eastern regions the infiltration of Mongoloid (Tibeto-Burman) tribes was manifest. The Chinese sources indicate that the population of Kamarupa bad dark-yellow skin.[248]

As shown in the available sources, the bulk of the populaion of the north-eastern areas of the subcontinent spoke kindredtIndo-Aryan dialects towards the mid-first millennium A. D. S. K. Chatterji considers it possible to derive all these vernaculars from

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[243] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 63. Evidence on the skill of the local craftsmen we find also in such an early monument as the *Mahabharata* (even after allowing for the probability of later additions to the original text): as tribute to King Yudhishthira "The Vangas and the rulers of the Kalingas and Tamralipta (brought), together with Pundrakas, (various) clothes, siak fabrics, white silk dresses and outer coverings"; from Pradjyotisha (Kamarupa) they brought "ironware and swords with... ivory hilts" (*Mahabharata. Sabhaparva*, II, 47, 1—14; II, 48, 12—21).

[244] *Arthashastra*, II, 29, 11; II, 31, 13.

[245] See, for example, Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. IV, p. 407.

[246] *Ibid.*

[247] For comments on this monument see: В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *О раннем периоде формирования языков народностей северной Индии*, стр. 156—159.

[248] Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. IV, p. 404.

one language, which he provisionally terms Eastern Magadhi.[249] That Chatterji's contention is plausible seems to be attested in Hsuan Tsang's words that even the farthermost north-eastern dialect (the language of Kamarupa) "differed little from Magadhi".[250] Chatterji believes that it is probably only in the pronunciation that these differences were manifest.[251]

In the middle of the first millennium A. D. the vernacular dialects of North-Eastern India fell into the four major groups: the Western (or Radha) group dominant in the territory of the present-day districts Midnapur, Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Manbhum, Singbhum, Murshidabad, Nadia, Hooghly, and Howrah; the Central (or Gauda or Varendra) group prevailing in the territory of the districts Malda, Rajshahi, Pabna, Bogra and the southern part of Dinajpur; the Eastern (or Vanga) group prevailing in the territory of the districts Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna, and Barisal; the North-Eastern (or Kamarupa) group dominant in the territory of the districts Jalpaiguri and Rangpur, as well as a part of the districts Dinajpur, Darjeeling, and Goalpara.[252] The eastern dialects of the latter group exercised a considerable influence on the development of Asamiya as the south-western dialects of Radha on the development of Oriya.

In the north-east of the subcontinent there were also areas inhabited by groups who retained pre-Indo-European speech: the Austro-Asiatic (Munda and Mon-Khmer) and Tibeto-Burman languages. Subject to slow Aryanization,[253] this population stood at the lowest rung of the social ladder. Thus, in the opinion of several scholars, many of the low castes in modern West Bengal orginated in the early Middle Ages during the Aryanization of the local Munda tribes.

The existence of the above-listed kindred dialectal groups of Eastern Magadhi (to use S. K. Chatterji's term), each of which could only develop as the result of the prolonged inhabitation and constant economic and cultural association of comparatively large human aggregates over the territory of separate isolated historical domains, enables us to suppose that a number of (probably four) kindred Indo-Aryan slave-owning nationalities—Radha, Gauda, Vanga, and Kamarupa—had taken shape in the north-eastern part of the subcontinent by the middle of the first millennium A. D. The existence of linguistic as well as definite

[249] S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 92.

[250] Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. IV, p. 404.

[251] S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 91.

[252] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[253] For more information see: S. K. Chatterji, *Indianism and the Indian Synthesis*, p. 158, sq.

cultural unity within each of the territories inhabited by these nationalities is attested by the fact that several independent script systems used by the population within a definite historical domain (on the evidence of the *Lalitavistara*) developed not later than the third century A. D. in the north-east of the subcontinent: Vangalipi (in Vanga), Apara-gauda-lipi (in Gauda), and others. Independent scripts were also in existence in Magadha and Anga.

In the feudal era that followed, the ethnogenetic processes at work in the north-eastern part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent led to the consolidation of the Radha, Gauda, Vanga and Kamarupa nationalities into the Bengal feudal nationality, and parts of the Radha and Kamapura nationalities living in the periphery also contributed to the formation of the Assamese (Kamarupa), Bihar (Radha) and Oriya (Radha) feudal nationalities.

ETHNIC PROCESSES IN THE FEUDAL ERA AND THE FORMATION OF FEUDAL NATIONALITIES

The fourth and sixth centuries in the history of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent witnessed some vital changes in the socio-economic development of the society: the disintegration of slave-owning relationships and a steady growth of feudal elements. The dissolution of the Gupta empire and the intrusion of the Ephtalites gave rise to a multitude of conflicting small states in the northern part of the subcontinent and in the territory of the present-day Eastern and Southern Afghanistan.[1] The chieftainship of the most developed of them gradually turned into feudal-type landlords. Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries became big landowners. Finally, privileged commoners formed a body of small feudatories. As productive forces made progress, the extended family with its collective forms of economy dissolved, in the most developed regions, into individual families, each depending on its own resources for household management.

The development of feudal land tenure is attested in the epigraphic records.[2] Several catergories of land tenure were in practice. State property in the means of production (land and water) ancestral to the preceding times seems to have been predominant.[3] Side by side with it, common landownership involving the systematic parcelling of the land was still in evidence. However, there were holdings allotted to individual peasant families. As far as the available scanty evidence goes, the farming commoner could sell his lot of the common land.

The first evidence on feudal benefices dates from the 30's of the fifth century and is recorded in the documents found in Bengal. As Soviet Indologist K. A. Antonova notes, "Little by little, inhabited villages are granted instead of uncultivated fields...,

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[1] Hsüan Tsang (the first half of the seventh century) noted that both in Taxila and in Lampaka (Laghman) there was no centralized state, the royal dynasties were on the wane, and the local chieftains "were vying and fighting with each other for power, without recognizing anybody's seniority" (Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. II, pp. 144, 179).

[2] Extensive evidence will be found in *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization* and *Epigraphica Indica*, Vols. III—V.

[3] А. М. Осипов, Краткий очерк истории Индии до X века, стр. 67.

the list of various feudal dues and fees levied on the peasants grows longer..., immunities are granted".[4] It is probable that the naturalization of the country's economy was in progress to a certain extent; many ancient cities fell into decline in the fifth and sixth centuries. As Marx and Engels noted, the village was the starting point for the Middle Ages as much as the city and its immediate neighbourhood for classical antiquity.[5] The decline of urban life was short-lived, however.

These processes are characteristic not only of the lower reaches of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, but also for the valleys of the Indus, Jumna and Ganges, as well as for a number of coastal areas.

Ideology and culture are another realm in which some vital changes take place in the fourth and sixth centuries. The ideology of feudal society takes shape under the religious disguise of Hinduism, which took the place of Buddhism almost universally. It is in this period that Sanscrit is gaining more ground in every field of state and public life. In the north-western part of the subcontinent the Brahmi script is ousting gradually Kharoshthi in the sixth century.

Along with the development of new feudal relationships new classes of feudal landowners and unprivileged peasants are taking shape. One of the features basic to the subcontinent in this period was further development of the caste system, which had originated in the preceding formation and which was enlivened with a new meaning in the feudal era. A hierarchy of castes resting on the hereditary system of labour division is arising, the descendants of the former slaves, ruined commoners, some of the common servants, etc. being at the lowest rung of this hierarchal ladder.

The ways and means of exploitation of the socially unprivileged groups of the population revealed more and more distinctly features basic to the feudal mode of production, which carried the day in most of the subcontinent in the seventh and eighth centuries, even though the relationships characteristic of the preceding formations lingered in certain areas in the form of die-hard survivals. One of the distinctive features of Indian feudalism lies in the maintenance of steady rural community based on common land-ownership and on the interweaving of farming and crafts throughout the feudal period.

The middle and beginning of the latter half of the first millennium witnessed not meerly socio-economic changes, but also some vital ethnogenetic processes. The fact is that feudal nationalities

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[4] К. А. Антонова, *К вопросу о развитии феодализма в Индии...*, *стр.* 31. For more details see: Е. М. Медведев, *К вопросу о формах землевладения в Северной Индии...*, стр. 50; *Эволюция формы индийских дарственных грамот...*, стр. 177—188.

[5] K. Marx, F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 35.

come into their own as feudal relationships mature and develop. Because of different levels of socio-economic development in separate areas resulting from the peculiarities of their historical evolution, the process varied widely from people to people, revealing peculiar features of one people or other.

The middle and beginning of the latter half of the first millennium appears to have been a break-through in the ethnic history of the subcontinent. The sixth-seventh century monuments already refer to "the different regions" of India whose inhabitants differed in language, clothing and customs.[6] Hsüan Tsang also cites evidence on several Indian nationalities. The *Kuvalayamalakatha* (the late eighth century) refers to the existence of eighteen major nationalities in the subcontinent, describing the anthropological character of the members of sixteen of them, characterizing their psychological make-up and citing the samples of their languages.

By the eighth and ninth centuries the largest of the feudal nationalities which we find in the subsequent periods of the subcontinent's history are seen to have taken shape. Of course, once in their own, they did not stay put. Their further continuous transformation was indeed on the move: the methods of householding, cultural patterns, religious conceptions, language and even anthropological features were all in the melting pot. The boundaries of their territories expanded as they assimilated smaller ethnic groups, and this in turn had an effect on the ethnic character of these nationalities.

* * *

After the dissolution of the Ephtalite confederacy a few small states emerged in the north-western part of the subcontinent. The Peshawar Valley and the lands between the Indus and the Chenab (i. e., the territory of ancient Gandhara) were under the sway of the Shahi lords who, judging from their dynastic name, were descended, or claimed to be descended, from the Kushanas. The capital of the Shahi state in the eighth and tenth centuries was Udabhandapura (Vaihand or Vaihind in the Muslim authors)[7] near the present-day town Und in the neighbourhood of Attock.

An independent state also arose in the Kashmir Valley, where the Karkota dynasty had gained a footing since the beginning of the seventh century. One of the outstanding rulers of this dynasty was Lalitaditya (circa A. D. 724—760) who brought under his control part of the North Punjab.[8] In the East and South Punjab, as well as in the territory of Sind, there were small principalities which sometimes acknowledged the suzerainship of the more powerful princes.

[6] Vishakhadatta, *Mudrarakshasa*, I, 8.
[7] See, for example, *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 16a.
[8] M. Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 28.

The economically most developed and thickly populated areas in the north-west of the subcontinent largely extended over the alluvial plains, with arid, rugged and sometimes jungle-grown lands between. Among such economically advanced areas were the Peshawar Valley, the Punjab, Sirhind (Sarhind) and the Lower Indus. Artificial irrigation of the soil was in wide use in many of these areas. Both food and fibres were grown here. The products of land cultivation and stock breeding (hide, wool, sugar cane, oil and drug plants) were staple exports. [9] Takka, lying between the Chenab and Ravi, is described in the tenth century source as a country with populous cities. [10]

The largest cities in the north-western part of the subcontinent were not only major politico-administrative but also cultural as well as economic centres. Udabhandapura was a vital centre of transit trade, drawing fragrancies, jewelry, and precious fabrics from the other regions of India. [11] The city of Jalandhar was famous for the manufacture of a wide variety of textile. Multan and Lahore were other wealthy trade cities and major religious centres. An anonymous Armenian document of the twelfth century describes Lahore as "a big and a very rich city". "This is a city of plenty. And everything that is good and worthy in the country one can find in the city, for merchants bring them and sell them there. And all merchants get everything (they need) here." [12] It is important to note that the major cities were centres of not only external or transit trade, but also of internal trade.

On account of their favourable geographical position the ports of Sind played a vital role, even before the Arab invasion, in the commercial intercourse between the countries to the west (Iran, South Arabia, Ethiopia) and to the east of the Indus delta, as well as in the export of commodities manufactured in Sind itself. [13] This role gained momentum in the opening centuries of our era after Islam had reached Sind. The author of *Hudud al-'Alam* notes the plenty of merchants in Sind, stressing that many a citizen of the coastal areas were engaged in sea trade. [14] The cities of Daibul and Mansurah were major trade centres of Lower Sind at the turn of the first and second millennia. [15] In the first centuries of the second millennium, Thatta came to the fore as

[9] *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheets 15b, 26a.

[10] *Ibid.*, Sheet 15b.

[11] *Ibid.*, Sheet 16a.

[12] Наименование городов индийских и персидских, стр. 321 (Russ. trans.).

[13] For more information see: Н. В. Пигулевская, *Византия на путях в Индию...*, стр. 173, 181.

[14] *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 26a.

[15] Daibul is situated some 35 *km* south-west of Thatta and some 70 *km* south-east of the present-day Karachi (G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 331). Mansurah, known as Brahmanavaha in pre-Islamic times (Bahmanabad in Al-Istakhri) was situated some 70 *km* north-east of the present-day Hyderabad (*Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 172).

another major economic and political centre of the country: in the opinion of some scholars, the city in its prime had a population of 280,000.[16] Later, when feudalism was mature, the Indus delta and the areas adjacent to it still retained their status of Sind's most advanced region. The sources dating from the latter half of the fourteenth century indicate that the area of Thatha (Thatta) was densely populated and the land was well cultivated and yielded two crops a year.[17] It is these socially and economically most developed areas in the north-western part of the subcontinent that became, in the latter half of the first millennium, the homes of ethnical consolidation of the two major feudal nationalities: the Punjabis and the Sindhis.

* * *

The ethnic name of the Punjabis comes from the name Punjab, the country of five rivers (from Persian-Punjabi *panj*, five and *ab*, river, water). It is long before the region's population consolidated into the Punjabi feudal nationality that an idea about the country's territorial unity had taken shape; as early as the first centuries of our era the country was called Panchanada, which was used in the same sense as Punjab at a later date.[18]

The core of the ethnogenesis of the Punjabis comprises Indo-Aryan nationalities and tribes, the formation of which on this territory in the first millennium B. C. was discussed in the preceding chapters. The largest of these were the Madras (Madrakas) Jartikas and the Kekaya. The ethnic unity of these nationalities is distinctly attested in the fantastic pedigrees which derive their eponyms from a common ancestor.[19] An Indo-Aryan population akin to these nationalities we also find on the western bank of the Indus, in Derajat[20] and the Lower Kabul.

In the seventh century A. D. the Punjab became an objective of the vicegerents of the Umayyad caliphs who had gained a footing in Iran. In A. D. 664, the Arabs overran Herat and, making their way to the Indus through the mountainous passes in Eastern Afghanistan, reached as far south as Multan. However, this incursion was rebuffed. Nor did the campaigns undertaken by the Arabic rulers of Sind in the eighth and ninth centuries meet a success;

[16] R. F. Burton, *Sindh and the Races...*, p. 5.

[17] H. M. Elliot—A. J. Dowson, *The History of India...*, Vol. III, p. 330; S. P. Chablani, *Economic Conditions in Sind...*, pp. 39—41 (with a bibliography on this subject).

[18] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 185.

[19] H. Raychaudhuri, *Political Hstiory of Ancient India*, p. 63. The Madras we have discussed above. The Kekaya occupied a territory between the Beas and the Chenab Rivers; references to this people have come down in the early Indian as well as the classical ancient sources (e. g., Arrianus, *Indica*, IV, 8). The Jartikas seem to have inhabited the South Punjab.

[20] Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. IV, p. 465.

repulsed by the Punjab's population, they did not advance farther than Multan.

New invaders were the Muslim emirs of Ghazni, who made aprearance on the north-western frontiers of India in the latter half of the tenth century. The political fragmentation of north-western India and internecine feuds contributed to the success of the Ghaznivides' forays. The Punjab became a province of the Ghaznivide kingdom, whose rulers did as much as transferred their capital into Lahore after 1161. In 1186, when the House of Ghazni fell to the Ghurids, the Punjab was incorporated into the state they established, and their successors expanded their realm as far east as the Lower Ganges and as far south as the Vindhya Mountains.

North India was now under control of the alien Muslim military-feudal aristocracy; it is notably in the mountainous areas and on the fringes of the Delhi Sultanate the invaders established that the local Hindu lords, chiefly of the middle and lower ranks, managed to keep their own.

An immediate result of the domination of Muslim rulers over most of the Punjab from the early eleventh century up to the formation of the state of the Sikhs in the '60s of the eighteenth century was the wide diffusion of Islam.

The principal areas of the ethnic consolidation of the Punjabi feudal nationality in the early Middle Ages were the Central and East Punjab with Lahore as the number-one administrative-political and economic centre, the South-West Punjab with Multan holding the same status, and North-West Punjab which comprised the upper part of the Indus-Jhelum doab.

Perhaps the earliest population to have consolidated into a feudal nationality was the Indo-Aryans of the central and eastern regions (the country Takka) who assimilated in the sequal some of the Chionite-Ephtalite tribes that had come to the area from the north-eastern part of present-day Afghanistan in the middle of the first millennium A. D. The Gurjar tribes bulked large in the ethnogenesis of the Punjabis in the early stages—a process which is attested in linguistic evidence as well as in the records of toponymy and genonymy. [21] Even though a wide variety of ethnic as well as anthropological types were in the melting pot to form the Punjabi nationality in those times (which can be surmised from the indication of the author of the *Hudud al-'Alam* that the population of the Ravi-Chenab doab was "dark and fair" or "black and white"), [22] the population of the Central

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[21] The following geographic names which have survived in the Punjab to this day can be traced back to the Gurjaras: Gurjarkhan (tehsil and city), Gujar and Gujranwala (district and city), Gujarwal (city in the district Ludhiana), and Gujrat (city in the district Lyallpur). Gujral is the name of one of the sub-castes of Khatri, a Punjabi caste employed in trade.

[22] *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 15b.

and East Punjab was regarded by the contemporaries as an ethnic united whole as early as the late eighth century.

The Jaina Dakshiniyachihna we have quoted above pointed out that "courtesy, generosity, fortitude, erudition and mercy" [23] were in character among the Punjabis; he also referred to a distinct language the population of that part of the subcontinent spoke—a language differing from those of the neighbouring regions: Kashmir, Sind, Rajasthan and Madhyadesha. The existence of the special language—*Takkadesha-vibhasa* (i. e., the language of the country Takka)—is also attested in the sources dating from the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, e. g. in Purushottama's Prakrtanushasana. [24]

Ethnically, the population of the South-West Punjab in the early Middle Ages was fairly kindred to that of Sind adjacent to it. [25] First and foremost, this is explained by the genetic relations of the population of Sind and of that part of the Punjab, as well as by the common descent from the kindred Indo-Aryan nationalities and tribes inhabiting the ancient country Sindhu-Sauvira. The ethnogenetic processes at work here received a strong impetus from the historical events of the tenth and thirteenth centuries involving, as they did, the formation of the Qarmat Principality at Multan and later its incorporation into the state formations which gravitated toward Lahore and Delhi, thereby interrupting the relationships of the South-West Punjab with Sind for a long time. Nor did the intimate ties with Sind affect these processes as they advanced in time; the ethnic development of the adjacent areas of the Punjab was in fact exercising an increasingly larger influence on their course. Of far-reaching effect (just as throughout the Punjab as a whole) was also the influence of the Turkish, Afghan (Pashtun) and Persian-Tajik ethnic elements, whose unceasing influx is in evidence between the late tenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries.

The emergence of the Turks on the north-western edge of the subcontinent seems to date from the beginning of the latter half of the first millennium A. D. [26] The Turks made their way into the Kabul Valley from Tokharistan (where they had gained a

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[23] Quoted from: В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *О раннем периоде формирования языков народностей Северной Индии*, стр. 157.

[24] For more information see: D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 239.

[25] Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 177.

[26] It is worthwhile to note that the term Turk was not distinctly ethnic in force during that period. Rather, it was "the name of a political confederacy which comprised a variety of tribes" (С. В. Киселев, *Древняя история Южной Сибири*, стр. 501). The thirteenth-century author Rashid-ad-din wrote: "In antiquity... all nomadic tribes who looked like Turks were called Turks wholesale" (Rashid-ad-din, *Jami' at-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, Book I, p. 85). As I. P. Petrushevsky notes in his preface to the Ist volume of Rashid-ud-din's collection, "the Turks of the early Middle Ages is a social rather than an ethnic term" (*idid.*, p. 28).

footing after the defeat of the Ephtalite confederacy) and for a certain period attained political ascendancy in this area. Hui Ch'ao, who visited the place circa A. D. 726, wrote that "the king (*wang*) and his mounted warriors (*ping ma*) were all Turks". [27] A. N. Bernstam believes that the Turks who advanced into South-East Afghanistan belonged to the Qarluq tribe. [28] It is possible that it is the pressure of the Turk-Qarluks that forced the Shahi rulers of Gandhara to transfer their residence from Kapisha and Purushapura (Peshawar) farther east, into Udabhandapura. As long as Hsüan Tsang (who visited India circa A. D. 629—645) described the king of Kapisha as belonging to the Kshatrya caste, [29] and Hui Ch'ao (A. D. 726) already found a Turk ruler here, there is good reason to date the advance of the Qarluqs into the Kabul Valley to the latter half of the seventh century.

From South Turkestan and North Afghanistan the Turks made continuous inroads into the basin of the Indus at a later date as well; this time these were the Oghuz and Khalaj tribes. [30]

The Turkish element also bulked large in the armies of the Muslim invaders of North India, as well as in the troops and entourage of the feudal lords who had moved from Khorasan and Mawarannahr into the Delhi Sultanate and later into the empire of the Great Mughals. The Persian-Tajik ethnic stratum was also rather numerous. Gentlemen of fortune poured to Alptegin from Mawarannahr and Khorasan by the thousands when "the word went about" that he "had seized the pass into India, taken many regions, a great deal of gold, silver, animals and slaves and brought a rich loot"; "those who came in search of plunder were beyond count", fifteen thousand on horseback and five thousand on foot, according to the account of Nizam al-Mulk. [31] Along with "the pure-blooded Turks", the sources also cite numerous references to "the noble Tajiks" in the court, army and administration of the Muslim rulers of the Punjab and other regions of the northern part of the subcontinent in the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. Seeking refuge from the Mongol massacres, a large amount of Iranians migrated into the Indus Valley and the Punjab in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The actual amount of the migrants we cannot tell, of course. But on their impact on the ethnic processes at work in the Punjab and their participation in the ethnogenesis of the Punjabi

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[27] Quoted from: А. Н. Бернштам, *Тюрки и Средняя Азия...*, стр. 189.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 190; also see: А. М. Мандельштам, *Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей...*, стр. 159. The records of toponymy seem to confirm this view: one of the regions today inhabited by the East-Pashtun tribes was called Hazara-i Qarluq even in the late eighteenth century (see: H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan...*, p. 292).

[29] Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. I, p. 117.

[30] Al-Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, pp. 376—377.

[31] Nizam al-Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, pp. 120—121.

feudal nationality we find definite evidence in the fact that according to the official statistics, at the beginning of the twentieth century 15 per cent of the Punjab's Muslims (exceeding 51 per cent of the region's population) were descendants of the migrants. [32]

The Pashtuns, whose advance beyond the Indus began not later than the eleventh century together with the armies of the Ghaznivids and later with the armies of the Ghurids, also took part in the ethnogenesis of the Punjabis. Thousands of the Pashtun soldiers fought in the troops of the Delhi sultans. The migration of the Pashtuns (Afghans) into the north-western part of the subcontinent is attested in the records of toponymy: Afghanpur occurred, among other geographic place-names as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. The might and mastery of the leaders of the Afghan troops we can see in the fact that one of them—Shah Afghān—seized Multan in 1341—1342. [33]

From the close of the fifteenth century onward the Baluchis, whose emergence in the south-western areas of the Punjab belong to that time, also participated in the ethnogenesis of the Punjabis. The Baluchi sardars overran Muzaffargarh and the southern part of Derajat and, together with their numerous kith and kin, gained a footing in these areas. Babur refers in his notes to separate settlements of the Baluchis in the beginning of the sixteenth century even in the northern regions of the Punjab—in Bhera and Khushab in the Jhelum Valley south of the Salt Range. [34] In the middle of the sixteenth century the Great Mughal Humayun settled some of the Baluch clans in the East Punjab. He granted them lands in this area for the assistance they had rendered in his struggle with the Sur rulers. [35]

The development of economic and cultural intercourse between individual areas of the Punjab was handicapped by incessant wars throughout the history of the Delhi Sultanate, the mutinies of feudal lords, and numerous foreign invasions (the Mongols in the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries and Timur in the end of the fourteenth century) and the accompanying destruction of productive forces, economic devastation and the country's political fragmentation.

This, along with a constant influx of new ethnic elements, resulted in that it is not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

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[32] K. Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, p. 164.

[33] Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat an-Nuzzar*, Vol. III, p. 362. The Afghan migration into the Punjab gained special momentum during the rule in North India of the Lodis (1451—1526) and the Surs (1539—1555) both of Pashtun origin, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century when as a result of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani a considerable part of the Punjab became incorporated into the empire he established. Numerous Pashtun colonies cropped up in the neighbourhood of Multan and in the North-Western Punjab.

[34] Babur, *Babur Namah*, p. 262.

[35] For more information see: M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...*, pp. 41—43; 45—46; D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, p. 45.

that the consolidation of the Punjabi feudal nationality was complete. One of the indications of this was the emergence of the important ethnolinguistic term Punjabi, first recorded in the literary documents of the early seventeenth century.

The Punjabi language derives from the late Prakrits (Apabhransha), Takka, Abhiri, and Upanagara, and possibly from Paishachi, which were the major vernaculars of the Punjab's of Indo-Aryan population in the middle of the first millennium A. D. The progress of her Eastern dialects was under great control of Apabhransha Shauraseni, which later gave rise to the development of the dialects of western Hindi. The western dialects of Punjabi were affected by the Dardic languages in the early Middle Ages and by Sindhi, Pashto and Baluchi in a later period.[36] The Punjabi vocabulary contains a great deal of borrowings from the Arabic and Turkish languages and form Farsi; by the estimates of some linguists, these borrowings amount to 40 per cent of the Punjabi's whole vocabulary.

The division of the Punjabi dialects, proposed by some linguists, into a western and an eastern group, with the borderline running along 74° E.L., is to a large extent arbitrary, since the western dialects (the so-called *Lahnda* from the Punjabi *Lahand*, west), although differing from the eastern dialects, are nevertheless related with them, as well as within its own group, through a number of transient patois. To contrast the western with the eastern dialects and regard them as "the manifestations of a separate language" seems unwarranted; it is more to the point to regard both the western and the eastern dialects as "the forms of a single language—Punjabi".[37] In this connection it is worthwhile to stress that even though the existence of some of the Punjabi dialects, both the eastern (Lahori, Dogri) and the western (Multani) is recorded already in the documents of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Punjabis themselves, as far as the available evidence goes, did not contrast them, but regarded them as vernaculars of a single language.[38]

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[36] It is G. A. Grierson who has substantiated the view that the Dardic languages exercised a considerable influence on the development of the western Punjabi dialects (G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 135). In one of his early works he even contended that the western Punjabi dialects can be combined with Kashmiri and Sindhi into a general north-western group of the Indo-Aryan languages (G. A. Grierson, "On Pronominal Suffixes...", pp. 336—351). However, some linguists contested this view. Thus, G. Morgenstierne, on the strength of evidence drawn from Khetrani (one of the south-western Punjabi dialects), has come to the conclusion that no trace of the influence in question is possible to detect (G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 14).

[37] Н. И. Толстая, *Язык панджаби*, стр. 7—8.

[38] Mohan Singh points out that at least from the fifteenth century onward the term Punjabi was used as "a genetic name" for Lahori, Multani, Pothwari, Bahawalpuri, and other western as well as eastern dialects (Mohan Singh, *An Introduction to Panjabi Literature*, p. 19). G. A. Grierson writes that the

The principal dialects of Punjabi in the late Middle Ages were: Lahori (or Lahuri) between the Jhelum and the Sutlej Rivers; Sirhindi in the area east of the Sutlej; Pothwari in the upper reaches of the Indus-Jhelum doab; and Multani or Jatki (otherwise known as Ucchi and Hindki, the latter name being coined by the Pashtuns) in the Indus Valley south of the Salt Range up to Upper Sind.

The hymns created in the ninth century by the adherents of various Buddhist sects, still in existence in the territory of the Punjab at the close of the first millennium A. D., are thought by some scholars to be the earliest Punjabi texts. Gorakh Nath and Charpat Nath composed poems in Punjabi in this period; the famous poet Shaikh Farid (A. D. 1173—1265) made great contribution to Punjabi literature. [39]

A number of outstanding works in Punjabi were produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when different ideological movements which opposed the orthodox Islam and Hinduism under the flag of a religious reform (*Bhakti*) were on the upgrade. [40] The most significant of such movements in the Punjab was Sikhism whose beginning was marked by the activity of Guru Nanak (1469—1538). The Sufis, who, like the Sikh guides—the Gurus—strove to preach in a language clear to common folk, also did much in the development of Punjabi literature. The greatest Sufi poets who wrote in Punjabi at that time were: Shaikh Ibrahim Farid Sani (d. circa 1554), Madho Lal Husain (1539—1594), Sultan Bahu (1631—1691), and among the eighteenth century poets: Bullhe Shah (1680—1758), Ali Hydar (1690—1785) and Fard Faqir (1720—1790). [41] Other outstanding poets were Waris Shah (1735—1798), one of the founders of lyric-epic genre in Punjabi literature, and satirical poet Suthra.

The vernacular dialect of the Central Punjab—Lahore and Amritsar areas—formed the basis of literary Punjabi. At the same

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western dialects are not recognized by the Punjabis as separate (independent) forms of speech, "being looked upon merely as so many dialects of Punjabi. Punjabis themselves had no general name for this group as a separate entity" (G. A. Grierson, *Lahnda and Lahndi*, p. 883). T. Bomford, who specialized in the study of the western dialects, noted that the population from Hazara to Multan described the local dialects as Punjabi, no matter how much they may differ from the Punjabi of Amritsar, i. e., the principal one of the eastern dialects (T. Bomford, *Rough Notes...*, p. 332).

[39] For more information see: Mohan Singh, *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature*, pp. 27—36, 40—43; I. Serebryakov, *Punjabi Literature*, pp. 17—18, 22—24.

[40] *Bhakti* (from بهكت or بهكتى faith, devotion, love directed toward a deity) "was the movement of urban artisans and tradesman... the most authoritative workers of it had come from the lowest castes of artisans and even from the untouchable" (А. М. Дьяков, *Национальный вопрос и английский империализм в Индии*, стр. 62).

[41] For more information see: A. Bausani, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, pp. 252, 256—260; L. Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets...*, pp. 11—88; I. Serebryakov, *Punjabi Literature*, pp. 46—47.

time, attempts were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to produce written literature in the south-western dialect (Jatki or Multani), but these met no great success. The development of Punjabi literature was handicapped by the fact that down to the mid-nineteenth century (even when the independent Punjab state was already in existence) Farsi was the official language of the country's administration, office correspondence and business proceedings. Arabic was the language of cult among the Muslims, i. e. the bulk of the population, and Sanskrit among the Hindus; only the Sikhs employed Punjabi as a language of worship.

The movement of the Sikhs—the anti-feudal struggle of the Punjabi peasantry and urban folk against the domination of the Great Mughuls and the Durrani shahs and against the Muslim and Hindu land magnates who supported them—had a substantial influnce on the socio-economic development of the Punjab in the late Middle Ages. Despite the violence on the part of the Sikhs' enemies and the decimation of the rebels (minarets were constructed from the heads of the beheaded Sikhs in Lahore on the order of Ahmad Shah Durrani) [42] the movement of the Sikhs was a success and terminated in the establishment of several independent Sikh principalities in the Punjab in the 60's of the eighteenth century). [43] The fight against the Great Mughuls and the Durrani shahs went hand in hand with the feudalization of the top of the Sikh community and the growth of property and social inequality, with the result that a privileged military-feudal stratum of sardars sprang from the stock of the Sikhs.

At the same time, the perennial anti-feudal movement of the Sikhs swept away a large number of the Muslim and Hindu lords, and those who had survived lost most of their lands, power and influence. Along with the striving of most of the Punjabi peasants, artisans and tradesmen to form a centralized state which could ensure the country's security against external perils and curb the internecine feud of the Sikh sardars, this offered premises for the political unification of the Punjab. [44] This Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799—1839) accomplished by subjugating the Punjab's territory west of the Sutlej.

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[42] Mahmud al-Husaini, *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shan Durrani*, Sheet 349a.

[43] The Marxist study of the problems of the socio-economic and political history of the Sikhism and its ideology is to be found in the works of the Soviet orientalists: I. M. Reisner, K. A. Antonova, N. I. Semenova and V. I. Kochnev. The major of them are: И. М. Рейснер, *Крестьянское движение сикхов...*; *Народные движения в Индии в XVII—XVIII вв.*, стр. 178—220; К. А. Антонова, *Очерки общественных отношений...*, стр. 163—169; Н. И. Семенова, *Государство сикхов...*; *Движение сикхов в Панджабе...*; В. И. Кочнев, *Панджаб в период мисалей...*

[44] The *Gazetteer of the Punjab* pointed out that the mutual rivalry of the sardars and "the growing conviction of the people... that it would be better to have one head of state" helped Ranjit Singh to unify the country under his power (*Gazetteer of the Punjab*, 1888—1889, p. 83).

Ranjit Singh managed to make use of the weakening of private feudal landownership to restore state landownership in the country. Conditional, temporary tenure became the major form of feudal landownership. Besides, there were also inheritable benefices, but these were of minor importance and in fact narrowed down to the right to obtain a rent-tax due to the state from a certain plot of land. Private feudal landownership (in drastically curtailed forms) survived only on the edges of the Sikh state. [45]

It is worthwhile to note that the formation of the independent Punjabi state under the Sikhs involved some crucial changes in the ethnic make-up of the Punjab's feudal top. Most of the feudal lords of un-Punjabi origin who had come into their own in the time of the Mughals were exterminated or banished and gave way to the native Punjabis, often members of the local common folk, who ascended during the war of the Sikhs against the rulers of Delhi and Kabul.

The anti-feudal fight of the Punjabi peasants contributed to the perpetuation in the country of rural communities, in which most of the arable land was in the hands of full-fledged peasant commoners and the feudalizing community top was rather weak and small in number. "The freedom-loving and vigorous Punjabi peasant was by no means a feudally suppressed creature who cringed before every lord without a murmur." [46] Bhaichara-type communities (from *bhai*, brother, a member of the same brotherhood, one of the same trade) in which arable land was in the inharitable possession of individual peasant families were more prevalent than any other types of community. There were also primitive forms of community in which inharitable land parcelling according to the degree of descent from a mythological or actual common ancestor was still in practice.

The establishment of the centralized Punjabi state curbed the feudal anarchy, and paved the way for the advance of agricultural production and craftsmanship and the revival of trade. While M. Elphinstone, who visited Multan later in 1808 (i. e., a decade before the city joined the Punjabi state) pointed out that most of the villages were in ruins, farming was in decline and half of the arable land was in neglect in that area. [47] G. T. Vigne, who visited the scene in 1836, referred to the excellent state of the farming lands: the whole acreage free from forest was under thorough cultivation, artificial irrigation was in wide use, especially in the fields given to wheat and barley and there was plenty of orchards in the neighbourhood of Multan. [48]

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[45] For further detail see: Н. И. Семенова, *Сельская община и феодальное землевладение...*, стр. 89—98.

[46] И. М. Рейснер, *Народные движения в Индии в XVII—XVIII вв.*, стр. 213.

[47] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, p. 21.

[48] G. T. Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni...* pp. 13—15, 23—24.

The major Punjabi cities which fell into decline in the first half of the eighteenth century [49] (Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Gujrat, Sialkot, Dera Ghazi Khan, etc., and especially those lying on the major trade ways) enjoyed an undeniable revival. Dozens of artisans were engaged in the manufacture of silk and cotton textile, metalware, shoes, embroideries, ornaments, weapons and many other articles. All these cities were vital centres of external trade with Afghanistan, Iran, Middle Asia, and the states of Eastern and Central India. A comprehensive range of textile, salt, indigos, tobaccos, carpets, metalware, etc. were exported from the Punjab into Afghanistan and thence into the west and the north; staple imports were almonds, fruit, horses, and raw silk. [50] Among the import items were wool, copper, precious metals and dyes.

The Central and Eastern Punjab were the most advanced areas, both socially and economically. On the periphery, in the mountain and foot-hill areas of the country's north and in the arid and semi-desert areas of the south-west, part of the population was engaged in semi-nomadic stock-breeding with some elements of land cultivation. Furthermore, more primitive forms of communal organization were characteristic of these areas: die-hard survivals of clan organization in the social affairs, home life and mentality of the people were still in existence. Yet, these peripheral areas did not exercise an appreciable influence on the socio-economic development of the rest of the Punjab.

The disintegration of natural economy and the social division of labour were in slow but steady progress in the country. These processes were facilitated by the relatively low taxes the Punjab's government levied on immediate producers and merchants and by the government's efforts to patronize the developing trade and commerce. On the eve of the British conquest, regional markets cropped up around the major cities of the Punjab, and the first manufactures were in evidence.

It should be stressed here that the religious-sectarian disguise of the Sikhism is not to veil the fact that the Sikhism, not only grew on the Punjabi soil, but was a purely Punjabi phenomenon throughout its history. The leaders of the Sikhs, both secular and cleric, made in fact no serious attempt to carry the preaching of Sikhism beyond the frontiers of the Punjab. In his efforts to raise his followers to fight against the feudal oppressors, Govind Singh (1675—1708) promised to give the Sikhs "the whole country from Lahore to Peshawar" once the victory was scored. [51] The anti-

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[49] On the decline of Lahore see, for example, И. М. Рейснер, *Народные движения в Индии в XVII—XVIII вв.*, стр. 214 (with a bibliography on this subject).

[50] G. T. Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni...*, pp. 68—69.

[51] Quoted from: M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion...*, Vol. V, p. 14.

feudal fight under the banner of Sikhism was thus a fight to create an independent Punjabi state with the Sikhs in power. When this state did come, the official salute with which the soldiers of the Punjab army (comprising Muslims and Hindus no less than Sikhs) greeted their commander became "Long live the Country of Five Rivers!"

For all their religious and sectarian bigotry, which is natural and understandable under those historical conditions, the members of the Sikh movement had notions concepts of the ethnic unity of the Punjabis; in fact they were not only aware of the real unity, but indeed strove to make use of it for their own aims.

The Punjabis who kept detached from the Sikh movement also had their own conceptions of the ethnic unity of all Punjabis: the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. In particular, these were expressed by the Punjabi poets of that time: Kadir Yar, Shah Muhammad, and others, who came from the Muslim community.[52]

Although the perennial anti-feudal struggle under the flag of Sikhism and with much bloodshed on both sides,[53] whetted no doubt the religious and communal feelings of the population, not only the Sikhs but also Hidus and Muslims took leading positions in the court of Ranjit Singh and in the state administration after the Punjab state was established.[54]

The opposition of the Sikh community to the other religious communities of the Punjab to the advantages of separate strata of the feudal top of the Sikhs was to go away as did the socio-economic conditions that had given rise to it.

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The ethnic name of the Sindhi nationality is related to the Sanskrit *sindhu*, river. Used as a proper name, the word meant the Indus River. In antiquity, Sindhu covered the territory of the lower part of the Indus Valley, and originally the country Sindhu probably was meant to embrace the lands on the right bank of the Indus in the present-day upper (Northern) Sind and the Southern Punjab to the west of the country Sauvira.[55] It is probably only in the first centuries A. D. that the name Sindhu

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[52] I. Serebryakov, *Punjabi Literature*, pp. 56—58.

[53] *Hakikat-i Bina wa'Uruj-i Firkah-i Sikhan*, pp. 9—10; M. Rashid Akhtar Nadvi, *The Sikhs*, p. 145.

[54] G. L. Chopra, *The Panjab as a Sovereign State...*, pp. 110—112; *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 229.

[55] The name of the Sindhu region we find in the *Arthashastra* (*Arthashastra*, II, 33, 15; II, 47, 30) and in the *Puranas*. For more information about its locality see: D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 24.

came to embrace also the delta of the Indus (the present-day Lower Sind).

The ethnogenesis of the Sindhis can be traced back to the kindred Indo-Aryan nationalities and tribal unions established in the lower reaches of the Indus in the first millennium B. C., the numerous references to, and descriptions of, these peoples being extant in the ancient authors: the Arabitai (Arbies), Patalae, Musikanos, Sambastians, Massanoi, and others. [56] In the second century B. C. and the fifth century A. D. the fragments of the Saka-Massagetae and Chionite-Ephtalite tribes took part in the ethnogenesis of the Sindhis, but their contribution to the ethnogenetic processes under way in the Lower Indus, as far as the available scanty evidence goes, was meagre.

The historical events connected with the Arabic invasion of Sind exercised a substantial influence on the consolidation of the Sindhi feudal nationality.

The first attempts made by the Arabs to reach the north-western coasts of India belong to the latter half of the seventh century A. D. But these were in fact surveying sea expeditios. The invasion of Sind began in A. D. 711. In the course of two years the troops of Muhammad ibn Qasim, a military leader of Caliph Walid, overcame the stubborn resistance of the native princes and invaded the country as far as Multan.

The invasion of Sind was all the easier because the leaders of the Buddhist community comprising most of the country's population were in opposition to the Hindu rulers and symphasized with the Arabic invaders and sometimes even helped them. Thus, the Buddhist principal of Sehwan called upon the faithful to submit to the Muslims. In particular, the Buddhists helped the troops of Muhammad ibn Qasim in the crossing of the Indus. [57]

For fourty years after the invasion, the vicegerents of the Umayyads ruled the country. When, however, the Abbasids ousted the Umayyads (A. D. 750), the vicegerents of Sind became really sovereign overlords, recognizing the suzerainnship of the righteous rulers just nominally. In the beginning of the tenth century the northern part of the territory overrun by the Arabs isolated into an independent feudal principality with Multan as the capital city. The border between the domains of the amir of Multan and the lands still under control of the Arabic ruler of Sind ran near the present-day city of Rohri in Upper Sind in the mid-tenth century A. D. [58]

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[56] See, for example, Arrianus, *Anabasis*, V, 4, 1; V, 15, 5; VI, 16, 4; VI, 17, 2—5; Arrianus, *Indica*, II, 6; XXI, 8; XXII, 10; Strabon, *Geographika*, XV, I, 13; XV, I, 32—33; XV, I, 54; XV, 2, I; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVII, 102, 4—7; XVII, 104, 4; Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, VI, 21, 4; VII, I, 55, ff.

[57] For more information see: I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community...*, pp. 38—39.

[58] Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 175.

The Arabic invasion of Sind was accompanied by the spread of Islam in this region. The local Buddhists who suffered from religious persecutions took to Islam especially eagerly. [59] As early as the close of the tenth century A. D. the bulk of the country's population seems to have professed the new religion. The author of the *Hudud al-'Alam* pointed out that the inhabitants of the western bank of the Indus and the inhabitants of Mansurah (the capital of Sind) were "all Muslims". [60] The conquerors brought along their own language which became the language of cult and administration.

The function of Islam as an effective instrument of the development and strengthening of feudal relationships in the early Middle Ages contributed to the diffusion of Arabic as the language of the dominant official religion. [61]

The Arabic invasion indeed prompted the feudalization of the Sind society—a process which began in pre-Islamic times. The emirs of Sind dealt out land generously to their military leaders, favourites, and Muslim theologians. Little by little, the conquerors fused with the local landlords converted into Islam, thus giving rise to the ruling stratum of the feudal class.

At the same time, the establishment of the sovereign Sindhi feudal state, connected with the other areas of the subcontinent comparatively weakly, [62] speeded up the consolidation of its population into a single feudal nationality. The centres of the ethnic consolidation of this population were the Indus Delta and the southern part of the Indus Valley immediately adjacent to it, i. e., the economically most developed areas where the country's major administrative-political, economic and cultural centres were situated.

The predominance of settled farming economy in these areas undoubtedly helped the nascent Sindhi ethnic community to consolidate and come into its own rather rapidly.

That the ethnic processes at work in Sind resulted in the concentration of its population into a feudal nationality already by the close of the eighth century is shown by the fact that the population of Sind was understood in the other areas of India in

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[59] I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community...*, p. 37—43.

[60] *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 26a.

[61] In the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, we find Farsi functioning in the same role as Arabic. Farsi was brought into Sind from Iran, Afghanistan and Middle Asia by the Muslim missionaries, feudal lords, soldiers and favourites of the Ghaznivids and Churids and their successors. Cradually Farsi ousted and replaced Arabic in the state and administrative sphere.

[62] After 750 Sind remained a *de-facto* sovereign state down to 1591. Only in the second quarter of the eleventh century the country was under the political control of the Ghaznivides, but already in 1054 the native rulers of the Somra dynasty restored the sovereignty of Sind. The attempts of the Delhi sultans to conquer Sind came to grief. The Great Mughal Akbar alone succeeded in incorporating the country into his empire.

that time as a united whole possessing its own peculiar anthropological character, spiritual make-up and language. The Jaina Dakshiniyachihna (circa A. D. 778) described these distinctive features of the Sindhis in this way: "Elegant..., with a lovely, soft and slow gait, they are fond of the art of the Gandharvas (i. e., songs, music, and dancing—*Yu. G.*) and feel affection towards their country". [63]

The Muslim authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries referred to the special language and script of the Sindhis, marking the distinction between Sind and the other parts of the subcontinent Al-Istakhri wrote: "The language of the inhabitants of Mansurah and Multan and the areas adjacent to them is Arabic and Sindhi and the language of the inhabitants of Makran is Persian». [64]

و لسان اهل المنصورت و الملتان و نواحيها العربية و السيندية و لسان اهل مكران الفرسية

Al-Biruni, in his enumeration of the alphabets in use in India in his time, notes the alphabet of the Sindhis-Saindhava سيندب. [65] Nizam al-Mulk, Abu-l-Fazl Beihaqi, Ibn Hauqal, Ibn Hordadbeh and other authors distinguish Sind and India when listing the individual countries of West and South Asia. [66] The list of examples can be multiplied.

During the late stage of their ethnogenesis (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) the Sindhis assimilated separate Baluchi tribes (and possibly the Brahui incorporated into the Baluchi confederacy) who had come into Sind from the west and the northwest, and also some of the Jat clans who had moved from the South Punjab. The result of the participation in the Sindhi ethnogenesis of the Baluchis who still had steady survivals of clan organization was that even among the settled population of Lower Sind in the late Middle Ages we find the revival of the traditions of clan life, with the clan divisions being conserved. Furthermore, the conceptions and traditions ancestral to the caste system basic to Hinduism still lingering among the Muslim section of the Sindhis contributed to the perpetuation of the close-knit clan partitions.

Even at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries the Sindhis were divided into more than two hundred clans. Some of these (Ahmadani, Mahmud, Mirakhur) undoubtedly descended from the kith and kin or favourites of one big feudal lord or another. Thus, the name of the clan Mirakhur (ميرآخور) is connected with the feudal title of the stableman.

[63] Quoted from: В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, *О раннем периоде формирования языков народностей Северной Индии*, стр. 157.

[64] Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 177.

[65] Al-Biruni, *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind*, p. 82.

[66] Nizam al-Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, p. 167; Abu-l-Fazl Beihaqi, *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*, pp. 46, 47, 57; Ibn Hauqal, *Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik*, p. 226; Ibn Hordadbeh, *Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik*, p. 155.

Another clan (e, g. Multani) owes its origin to compact groups of the population being moved into Sind from other areas of India and assimilated later by the Sindhis. Of the same origin is the Domki clan who originated during the assimilation of part of one of the Baluchi tribes. The clans Bhati and Siyal sprang from the assimilation of part of the Jats of the Punjab.

One of the Sindhi clans were the Memans (from the corrupted Arabic *mumin* مومن believer), the Hindus of the Lohana caste genetically related to the Gujarati population of Kacch and converted into Islam in the fifteenth century.[67] Many estate groupings were of isolated, caste or clan, nature: the Sayids (divided in turn into the Hasani and Husaini) who claimed descent from prophet Muhammad, his relatives and followers, the Qurayshi (or Siddiqi), Alawi, Abbasi, and finally the Khojas who were engaged in trade and usury, and others.

In the late Middle Ages the Indus Valley's territory inhabited by the Sindhis was divided into the three major parts: Lar, or South Sind with Thatta and Karachi as its major administrative and economic centres; Vicholo or Central Sind with the city of Hyderabad; and Siro or North Sind with the cities of Khairpur, Larkana, Sukkur and Shikarpur. Down to the middle of the eighteenth] century, the city of Thatta was the principal economic and cultural centre of the Sindhis.[68] Besides the above-cited territories we find a Sindhi population in the western and northern parts of the Kacch Peninsula, in Sibi (Sewistan); in the western oases of the vast Thar Semi-Desert (the fortress city of Umarkot, etc.) and in the regions of Las-Bela.

The decline of central power in the time of the last Mughals rendered Sind open to foreign invaders. In 1739 the troops of the Iranian Shah Nadir Shah Afshar overran Sind. After the assassination of Nadir, Ahmad Shah Durrani conquered, part by part, Sind in the course of 1748—1750. An Afghan vicegerent was installed in the city of Shikarpur, and Lower Sind's ruler of the Kalhoro dynasty became a vassal of the Afghan shahs. The attempts made by the Kalhoros in 1753 to overthrow the power of the Afghans were suppressed by force; in 1757 the conquest of Sind was acknowledged by the Great Mughal Alamgir II.[69]

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[67] For more information see: V. R. Russel, *The Tribes and Castes...*, Vol. II, pp. 440—443. Some scholars contend that the Lohana come from Lohanpur in the neighbourhood of Multan and were originally engaged in caravan salt trade (see, for example, U. T. Thakur, *Sindhi Culture*, pp. 56—57).

[68] The European travelers who visited Thatta in the seventeenth sentury described it as "a trade centre of the country, as a very big and wealthy city", which was three miles long and a mile and a half wide. The city was a major centre of craftsmanship; there were about 300,000 looms in Thatta in 1631. The role of Thatta in the cultural life of Sind is indicated by the fact that there were 400 madrasahs in Thatta in 1699. For more information see: S. P. Chablani, *Economic Conditions in Sind...*, pp. 54, 81.

[69] Mahmud al-Husaini, *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Sheets 206b, 207a, 331a.

In 1778, an internecine war between the Amir Ghulam Nabi Khan Kalhoro, the ruler of Sind, and the feudal nobilty of the Baluchi tribe Talpur broke out. The victory went to the Talpurs, who ousted the Kalhoros (1786) and carved Sind into a number of small feudal principalities. The refusal of the Talpurs to pay tribute to the Durrani Shahs caused frequent incursions of the Afghan troops into the country (1779, 1781, 1783, 1786, 1794, 1808).

The incursions, as well as internal feud and strife, affected heavily the welfare of Sind. Describing the aftermath campaign of Nadir Shah into Upper Sind, Muhammad Kazim wrote: "in this country, which would seldom have the like in India in vastness, size and population numbers, not a single human dwelling was left". [70] The irrigation system was falling to ruin, the acreage of arable land shrinking and trade declining.

The diminishing of the productive forces tended to undermine the economy of Sind: the population of Thatta, 300,000 in its prime, dropped to 20,000 in 1809 and 7,000 in 1851. [71] Many important cities (e. g. Sukkur) came to ruin. [72]

The decline of the cities is shown by the fact that the income derived from Karachi, through which the bulk of Sind's export was carried out, was a negligible amount of 99,000 rupees in 1809, while in 1793 it was as high as 616,000 rupees.[73] Shikarpur, Northern Sind's largest trade centre, fell into decline. [74]

That the agriculture went downhill due to incessant forays, feudal anarchy and ruthless exploitation of the immediate producers is indicated by a sharp reduction of the acreage of arable land (on the average from 850,000 ha. in the mid-eighteenth century to 420,000 ha. at the close of the century, [75] and, as a corollary, a sharp decline in the profits drawn from the country's richest farming areas. Thus, the profits derived from the lands on the right bank of the Indus in the Larkana region dropped to a half during 1778—1809. The total neglect the feudal rulers of Sind paid to the irrigation system in the time of the Talpurs, the basis of the country's welfare, and the outdated and stale methods of soil cultivation, also did much harm to the country's agriculture. [76]

The need to pay an annual sum of 1,500,000 rupees to the Durrani Shahs was another factor undermining the economy of Sind.

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[70] Muhammad Kazim, *Nama-i 'Alamara-i Nadiri*, Sheet 235a.

[71] H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, p. 352; R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, p. 5.

[72] Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys...*, Vol. I, p. 358.

[73] The note of the British agent Ghulam Sarwar who travelled to Sind in 1793 will be found in: H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History...*, p. 272; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, pp. 344, 361.

[74] Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys*, ... Vol. I, p. 354.

[75] S. P. Chablani, *Economic Conditions in Sind...*, pp. 28—29, 49—50.

[76] H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, p. 357; R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, p. 37.

This sum was twice as large as the annual taxes procured in Khairpur, one of Sind's largest principalities. Even though the tribute usually was not paid in full, the brunt borne by the country devasted by the wars, was heavy indeed. [77]

The aftermath of city decline, the fall of trade, the rise of natural economy on account of simple commodity economy, the devastation of the irrigation system affected especially Upper Sind. Nomadic and semi-nomadic stock breeding gained more ground in the economic life of this region. All these changes in the economic domain seem to account for the political ascendancy of the aristocracy of the Baluchi tribes who came to supreme state power in Sind at the close of the eighteenth century.

The feudal ownership of land and water was the basis of the socio-economic structure of the Sindhis in the late Middle Ages. The feudal state was looked upon as the supreme owner and distributer of all land; hence the right of the ruling house to levy taxes on the population living on these lands. Even at the close of the eighteenth century most of the taxes were paid in kind. [78]

There were several categories of landownership, the principal ones being: the state lands (*khalisah*) held in full possession of Sind's rulers; conditional land benefits (*Jagirdari*, *pattidari*) involving total or partial tax immunity (these lands were granted on condition of paying military or civil service; the Jagirdars collected, totally or partially, from their lands those taxes which the state previously collected); [79] private lands (*zamindari*) whose possession did not involve obligatory military or civil service, the owner being able to use the lands as he will (at the same time, the zamindars were due to pay a definite tax to the state and were responsible for soil cultivation); the lands granted to various religious institutions and Muslim theologians (*wuguf*, *khairati*, *in'am*). [80]

Communal landownership and land usage was, according to the evidence dating from the time of the Talpurs, already almost in decline, which is connected with the disintegration of the community itself in Sind. The fall of rural community resulted from the development of internal market, the incursion of commodity-money relations into the village, and from the conscious policy

[77] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, p. 499; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, p. 399, 400.

[78] S. P. Chablani, *Economic Conditions in Sind...*, p. 184.

[79] The Talpurs distributed many of the jagiris to their kin and the khans of other Baluchi tribes on condition that the latter were to render service in arms (R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, p. 238). In Northern Sind the Durrani shahs granted land benefices to the Afghan sardars and solders (*ibid.*, p. 234). In the region of Shikarpur alone the Durrani shans dealt out no less than a thousand allotments called *patta* into the jagir (J. Burnes, *Narrative of a Visit to the Court...*, p. 22).

[80] In the time of the Kalhoros, large land benefices (In'am) were given to the numerous Sayids who claimed descent from the prophet Muhammad and his relatives (R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, p. 233).

of Sind's rulers, who encouraged the feudal lords to appropriate the common lands. Another factor facilitating the transfer of the common lands to the lords was, in some measure, that the government officials (*kardars*) who were in charge of individual administrative regions exercised both administrative and judicial power and the functions of tax collectors. [81]

In the Sindhi village there was neither collective responsibility nor common possession and use of land (even of waste fields, forests and grazing grounds). Community organization remained just in the form of survivals.

Peasant-type landownership was of minor importance in Sind. Most of the lands were cultivated by tenants who were divided into the two major categories: inheritable tenants (*Maurusi-hari*) who paid a fixed tallage to the Zamindar and had the inheritable right to till a specific plot, and tenants (*Ghair-maurusihari*) who had none of these rights. [82]

The Sindhi peasantry suffered from hard feudal exploitation. Apart from taxes due to the state, there were innumerable tolls and dues according to the custom. Besides, all kinds of work-off rent charges were levied on peasants and artisants. [83]

Although, as we have mentioned above, the time of the Talpurs is characterized by the decline of urban life and many of Sind's cities were of semi-agrarian nature in that time, [84] craft and trade were nevertheless on the upgrade in some of the major cities. Artisans were mainly engaged in the prosessing of agricultural raw products and catered for either landlords or buyer-ups. Merchants were engaged largely in external trade; many of them drew great profits by crediting the country's rulers and individual feudal lords. [85] It is a fact that the merchants of Shikarpur amassed huge (for that time) capitals by finincing the conquering campaigns of the Durrani shahs. [86] Trade and money-lending were concentrated mainly in the hands of the members of the local Hindu trade-usury castes, [87] which constituted the bulk of urban population. [88] As for the crafts (especially, weaving, dyeing and tanning, metal working) the Muslims were principal producers in these fields. [89]

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[81] M. Jasin, "The Talpurs of Sind", p. 48.

[82] For more information see: С. А. Кузьмин, *Аграрные отношения в Синде*, стр. 19—20.

[83] R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, pp. 37—54.

[84] See, for example, J. Postans, "Memorandum on the City...", p. 18.

[85] Husain Ali, *Zib-i Tarikhha*, Sheet 81b.

[86] Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys...*, Vol. I, pp. 353—355.

[87] D. R. Gadgil, *Origins of the Modern Indian Business Class*, p. 17.

[88] Thus, in Shikarpur (including the suburbs) the Hindus accounted for 65 per cent of the population (or 19,000 out of 29,000 people) just before the British conquest. See: J. Postans, "Memorandum on the City...", pp. 17—19.

[89] J. Postans, "Memorandum on the City...," pp. 18—20; Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys...*, Vol. I, pp. 379—380.

The official recognition of Islam as Sind's state religion was the result of the extensive influence the numerous and wealthy estate of Muslim theologians was exercising on all aspects of the country's life. The administration of the official cult was in the hands of Muslim theologians. Jurists (*ulama* and *muftis*) and judges (*qazis*) were procured from the Muslim theologians. They also controlled education and the upbringing of the youth (because they held the positions of *mudarrises*, i. e. the instructors of religious educational establishments) and also supervised morality and the observation of the regulations of the Shariat by the faithful.

On the other hand, political instability and economic havoc at the end of the eighteenth century stimulated the spread of mystical sentiments and the flowering of Sufism which diffused throughout the Sindhi society. Sind was known as the land of the Sufis. [90] The pirs, khalifahs and murshids, the leaders of the Sufi orders, had thousands of followers and hundreds of servants. [91] They levied from one eighth to one half of the incomes on their murids (followers and disciples); the most influential pirs had annual profits as high as 400,000 rupees (approximately 30,000 pounds) during the last decades of independent Sind. [92] The lands of pirs were often cultivated free by the murids. The principals of the Sufi orders enjoyed a high political prestige since among their followers were many of the big landlords and the members of the ruling dynasty. It sometimes happened that the principals of the Sufi orders themselves claimed political power and succeeded in satisfying their claims. Thus, the amirs of the Kalhoro dynasty (circa 1707—1786) were the khalifahs of the sect, founded by the Mian Muhammad Mehdi in the fifteenth century, before they became Sind's rulers. Supported by their numerous followers, the Kalhoros became big landlords by the end of the seventeenth century, thus securing their claims to supreme political power in the country.

The most authoritative of the Sufi orders of Sind were Jalaliya, Qadiriya, Naqshbandiya, Suhrawardiya and Chishtiya. Of these, the Jalaliya was dominant largely on the territory of Sind itself, while the other orders operated in various regions of India, as well as beyond the Indian frontiers.

It is important to note that not only Muslims but also Hindus would become followers of some of the pirs. [93] This indicates that

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[90] J. M. Parsram, *Pakistan and Sind*, p. 102.

[91] One of Sind's murshids, who was held to be a descendant of prophet Muhammad, possessed about a thousand murids at the end of the eighteenth century (Husain Ali, *Zib-i Tarikhha*, Sheet 75a).

[92] R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, pp. 204, 206.

[93] R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, p. 231; J. M. Parsram, *Pakistan an Sind*, p. 102.

the Sufism of Sind in the late Middle Ages retained features opposite to the orthodox Islam.

The feudal fragmentation of Sind, the decline of cities, the predominance of the aristocracy of the Baluchi tribes in political life and the top Muslim theologians and the principals of the Sufi orders in the ideological and spiritual domain contributed to the perpetuation of slavery survivals [94] and clan relationships. Although the bulk of the population professed Islam, the castes (in the transformed shape) were still in existence.

The Sindhi language derives from the late Prakrit (Apabhransha) Vrachada, which the related Indo-Aryan tribes and nationalities inhabiting Sind and the south-western areas of the Punjab in the mid-first millennium A. D. spoke. Vrachada was divided into a number of dialects. The north-western dialects of Vrachada seem to have been affected by the Dardic languages whose speakers occupied a much larger territory in those days than they do nowadays, and the north-eastern dialects seem to have been under the influence of the Apabhransha Takka und Upanagara which prevailed in the Central and Eastern Punjab. The core of Sindhi was the southern dialects of Vrachada which the Indo-Aryan population of the Lower Indus spoke. The vocabulary of Sindhi was enriched through borrowings from Arabic in the time of the Arabic invasion and from Farsi at a later date. [95]

The opposition of the literary written languages (catering for the top of the society, the needs of cult and state and administration) to the vernaculars and dialects of the bulk of the population—a process characteristic of the feudal era—was in evidence also in Sind in the Middle Ages. Arabic among the Muslims and Sanskrit among the Hindus were used here as languages of cult. Farsi was the language of office proceedings, state administration, as well as the language of the court and fine literature. The use of Arabic and Farsi, in contrast to the rough and low speech of common folk, emphasized the privileged status of the ruling feudal top of the society and contributed to the perpetuation of its estate isolation.

Yet, literature in the Sindhi language was in progress in Sind in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reason is that the consolidation of the Sindhi nationality was complete—a process which was manifest, among other things, in the developed sense of ethnic unity, in the desire of the progressive section of the feudal intellectuals to turn their vernacular into a native literary language. The efforts made by the advanced persons of that time to write in a language clear to common folk had doubtless a positive effect on the development of Sindhi literature.

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[94] Slave labour was mainly employed in households; for further detail see: R. F. Burton, *Sindh and Races...*, pp. 253—257.

[95] For further detail see: G. A. Grierson, "Vracada and Sindhi," pp. 47—48; *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 136, 139.

Lari, i. e., a dialect of the most developed section of the country (Lar, Southern Sind), constituted the basis of literary Sindhi. In the time of feudal fragmentation, however, the literary language was, of course, unable to oust the numerous regional dialects out of the speech: Siraiki (in Siro, Upper Sind), Thareli (in the oases of the Thar Desert), Kacchi (in the Kacch Peninsula), Lasi (in areas west of Karachi) and others.

The most renowned of the poets and prose authors who wrote in Sindhi in that time were Sayid Abdul Karim, Mahmud Hashim, Makhdum Abdullah Nariyawaro, and finally Shah Abdul Latif. [96] The latter's *Shahajo Risalo* has been enjoying affection and popularity in Sind to this day. And this not only among the Muslims but also among the Sindhi Hindus who take pride in the creation of this poet and rank him as one of the world's greatest artists. [97]

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The Pashtun and Baluchi feudal nationalities began to take shape much later than the Sindhi and Punjabi nationalities. The reason lies in the peculiarities of the historical development of the regions where the Pashtuns and Baluchis lived. The establishment of feudal social relations and the accompanying consolidation of the Pashtun and Baluchi tribes into feudal nationalities proceeded here much more slowly than the formation of the feudal nationalities in the Lower Indus and the Country of Five Rivers where an advanced class society was in existence and clan relations were already, to a large extent, a history in the middle of the first millennium A. D.

The ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns (as they know themselves and as we shall call them hereafter) or the Afghans (as they were sometimes, and still are, known in the European literature) [98] is based on the ancient East-Iranian population of the areas of the Suleiman Mountains (west of the Indus Valley).

When the East-Iranian tribes came here is a matter of dispute. Some scholars contend that their advance into the mountainous areas west of the Indus dates from the second and first

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[96] Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, *Sindhi Adab*, pp. 43—61. Shah Abdul Latif, a classical poet of Sindhi literature, was born in 1690 at the village of Hala Halevi, in the vicinity of present-day Hyderabad. He died in 1751, and his grave at Bhit is a shrine of the Sindhis. Shan Abdul Latif is known to have descended from the Jararpota Sayid family, and as a Sufi he attained one of the highest degrees of initiation—Mashaikh (E. Trumpp, *Sindhi Literature...*, p. VII).

[97] M. M. Gidvani, *Shah Abdul Latif*, pp. 11—13; M. B. Pithavalla, *An Introduction to Sind...*, p. 116.

[98] The Afghans know themselves as پښتون Pashtun (in the south-western dialects of Pashto) or Pakhtun (in the north-eastern dialects); hence پټهان Pathan or Patan, as the Afghans are known in the northern part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

centuries B. C. and is connected with the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom to the Saka-Massagetae. This view appears to me wrong. The East-Iranian tribes seem, as has been mentioned above, to have constituted here the bulk of the population already in the middle of the first millennium B. C. [99]

In 1839 B. Dorn suggested that the Paktyes referred to by Herodotus in his *Istoria* (IV, 44; VII, 67) were the ancestors of the Pashtuns. This hypothesis was contested by N. V. Khanykov [100] and at present is rejected by most of the scholars. Attempts are being made to connect the Pashtuns with the Pakhta tribe or tribal union [101] mentioned in the Vedic texts and localized to the north-western frontiers of India, as well as with different peoples inhabiting the eastern part of present-day Afghanistan at the turn of our era (Pasiani, Parsioi, and Parsietai) the evidence on whom we find in the ancient historians and geographers. [102]

It seems to me that the available evidence does not warrant us to regard any of the above-mentioned ancient tribes or nationalities as a direct ancestor of the Pashtuns, although there is no doubt that the descendants of these ancient tribes and peoples partook in the formation of the Pashtun feudal nationality. At a very early date, also, Indo-Aryan and Dardic ethnic elements seem to have entered into the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns. [103] Yet, the presence in Pashto of cerebral (otherwise known as retroflex) consonants which "in their articulative nature were entirely alien to the initial system" points to a definite Dravidian ethnic substratum. [104]

My opinion is that the formation of the union of largely East-Iranian tribes which became the initial ethnic stratum of the Pashtun ethnogenesis dates from the middle of the first millennium A. D. and is connected with the dissolution of the Ephtalite confederacy. In the areas north of the Hindu Kush some of the tribes of this confederacy participated in the formation of the nationalities who inhabit Middle Asia today, and, among other tribes, in the formation of the Turkmen and Uzbek nationalities. This is attested, among other things, in the records of genonimy which indicate that among the Turkmens and Uzbeks (as well as among

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[99] For more information see: Э. А. Грантовский, *Из истории восточно-иранских племен на границах Индии*, стр. 23—30.

[100] Н. В. Ханыков (in supplements to К. Риттер, *Иран*), ч. 1, стр. 552—553.

[101] See, for example, D. H. Gordon, *The Pre-Historic Background of Indian Culture*, p. 94.

[102] Э. А. Грантовский, *Племенное объединение* Parçu-*Parçava у Панини*, стр. 90—91.

[103] M. Shahidullah, "The Philology of the Pashto Language,", p. 25—28.

[104] В. А. Абаев, *О языковом субстрате*, стр. 63—64; also see: Д. И. Эдельман, *Проблема церебральных в восточно-иранских языках*, стр. 74.

the Lokai) there occurs the ethnonym Abdal descending from the name of an Ephtalite tribal union (Abdels, Abdal).[105] South of the Hindu Kush, another part of the Ephtalite tribes lost their privileged status as the military stronghold of the ruling dynasty and was ousted into the thinly peopled areas of the Suleiman Mountains. areas where there were not enough water supplies and grazing grounds.[106] There they became a part of the tribal union which formed the basis of the Pashtun ethnogenesis.

Of the contribution of the Ephtalites to the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns we find evidence in the ethnonym of the largest of the Pashtun tribe unions—the Abdali (Durrani after 1747) associated with the ethnic name of the Ephtalites—Abdal.[107] The Siah-push, the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, called all Pashtuns by a general name of Abdal still at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[108]

It is not impossible that certain Kushan-Tokharian elements also took part in the formation of the Pashtun ethnic community. In this connection it is worthwhile to note the fact cited by G. Morgenstierne: among the Ormuri the Pashtuns are known under the ethnic name *kâš*.[109]

At the early stage of their ethnogenesis already, the Pashtuns eem to have become known among some of their neighbours as

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[105] Б. Х. Кармышева, *К вопросу о происхождении локайцев*, стр. 28 и табл. 2; А. А. Росляков, А. Каррыев, Г. П. Васильева, *Туркмены — исторические сведения*, стр. 19; G. Jarring, *On the Distribution of Turk Tribes...*, pp. 38, 56.

[106] Babur describes the Suleiman Mountains as follows: "They are very, very low, ugly and worthless... There are few mountains in the world that are built so badly" (Babur, *Babur Namah*, p. 166). A modern Afghan author gives a similar description: "The Suleiman Mountains are, for the most part, severe, deserted and barron" (Мухаммед Али, *Афганистан*, стр. 25, Russ. transl.).

[107] J. Marquart, *Erānšahr, nach der Geographie...*, S. 253. S. A. Tokarev pointed out that "the homonymy of clan divisions among different peoples... leads to very far-reaching conclusions on the origin of the peoples" (С. А. Токарев, *К постановке проблем этногенеза*, стр. 28). In the matter under discussion the homonymy of clan divisions (the names of which come from the ethnic name of the Ephtalites—Abdela, Abdal) among the Turkmens, Uzbeks, Lokai and the Pashtuns indicates that the fragments of the Ephtalite tribes contributed to the ethnogenesis of both of the Pashtuns and of some of the Middle Asian peoples.

J. P. Ferrier cites a legend he has written down, according to which the ancestors of the Abdali lived in the vicinity of Multan in India before their movement into the Suleiman Mountains. The attacks of the neighbours compelled them to take refuge in the Suleiman Mountains where they took the lead of a union of twenty four local tribes (J.-P. Ferrier, *Hist y of the Afghans*, p. 7).

[108] Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys...*, Vol. I, p. XIII.

[109] G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. I, p. 312, Note 2.

Afghan, whose etymology is obscure.[110] As for the Pashtun-Pakhtun as the Pashtuns called themselves, the name is thought by some scholars to come from Old Iranian **parsava-pārsa* meaning robust men, knights.[111]

In the Indian sources dating from the middle of the first millennium A. D. (the *Puranas* and the *Brhatsamhita*, a treatise by sixth-century astronomer Varahamihira) we can find the name of the people (or peoples) Apaga, Avagana who lived probably on the north-western edge of the subcontinent.[112]

In the biography of Hsüan Tsang who visited north-western India and eastern Afghanistan in the first half of the seventh century A. D., we can find accounts of the country A-po-kan or A-p'o-k'ien which lay in the mountains between Fa-la-na (Bannu) and Tsao-kiu-č'a (Jaguda-Zabulistan, Ghazni Region).[113] Since the location of A-p'o-k'ien fits exactly the Suleiman Mountains and the name of the country can be associated with Apaga, Āvagāna, it is not impossible that the records of the Indian and Chinese sources offer the first references to the Pashtuns (Afghans) and the territory they occupied at the beginning of the latter half of the first millennium A. D.

Down to the second millennium A. D. the province of the Pashtuns was hemmed in by the Suleiman Mountains between the Kunar Valley in the north and the Gomal Valley in the south. It is precisely to this area that the Muslim authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries localized the Pashtuns. Thus, the author of *Hudud-al-'Alam*, describing the north-western frontier areas of Hindustan, refers to a place called Sawal or Saul (سول) in the mountains (بر كوه) on the way from Gardiz (north-east of Ghanzi) to the Indus Valley "and in it (live) Afghans".[114] The

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[110] On the fantastic etymology of some of the Muslim authors of the late Middle Ages who derived Afghan, Afghanistan from *afghan wa ghogha* — افغان و غوغا (Farsi: noise, howl, cry, quarrel) see: H. B. Ханыков, (in supplements to К. Риттер, *Иран*), стр. 558—559; Also see: J. P. Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, p. 6. Some scholars contend that the ethnonym Afghan descends from the name of the Indo-Aryan tribal union (or nationality) Ashvaka (the Assacenians in Arrianus) whom we have mentioned before (see, for example, N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 87).

[111] Э. А. Грантовский, *Древнеиранское этническое название *parsava-pārsa*, стр. 3—19. E. A. Grantovsky's hypothesis is contested by I. M. Dyakonov who holds the ethnonym **parsava-pārsa* to descend from a toponymic name which later was transferred on to a definite group (groups) of the population (И. М. Дьяконов, *Языки древней Передней Азии*, стр. 91).

[112] Varahamihira, *Brhatsamhita*, XI, 61; XYI, 38. For more information see: N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 87; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 26.

[113] For more information see: E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 160, sq.; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels...*, Vol. II, pp. 265—266.

[114] *Hudud-al-'Alam*, Sheet 16a.

mountains west of the Indus Valley Al-Biruni refers to as a residence of the Afghan tribes. [115]

The evidence of toponymy indicates that the Suleiman Mountains between Kurram and Gomal were known among the Pashtuns as Pasht. H. G. Raverty is right in associating this name with the ethnonym Pashtun: the country inhabited by the union of Pashtun tribes in the early Middle Ages seems to have borne their name. [116]

The sources of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries also indicate that it is precisely in this province that the formation of the Pashtun ethnolinguistic community was going on in the seventh and eighth centuries and that down to the middle of the second millennium A. D. the province remained a major homeland of the Pashtun tribes. Thus, Ibn Battuta refers to the Suleiman Mountains as a major homeland of the Afghans. [117] Even though in many areas south of the Hindu Kush and west of the Suleiman Mountains numerous Afghan colonies were already in existence in that time, no other region except the Suleiman Mountains was called Afghanistan. Babur, too, calls the region Afghanistan, and from his notes it is clear that even at the beginning of the sixteenth century neither Bannu nor Kohat (even though they were partly inhabited by Pushtans) was regarded as part of Afghanistan. [118]

As far as the available scanty evidence goes, the formation of the Pashtun ethnolinguistic community was complete at the borderline of the first and second millennia A. D. By that time the frontiers of the Pashtun province became clear, which was reflected in the fact that the neighbouring peoples attached to it the geo-ethnic term Afghanistan. The fundamentals of the Pashtun original culture and the peculiar psychological make-up of the Pashtuns had evolved on the basis of nomadic and semi-nomadic stock breeding economy. It is to that time that the main genealogical legends of the Pashtuns are ancestral. Also, the Pashto language seems to have arisen in the course of legitimate development of a group of related East-Iranian dialects.

Although the history of Pashto has been studied little, it is certain that the language descends from the languages and dialects of the East-Iranian tribes and nationalities who inhabited the territory between the Indus and the Hindu Kush in the latter

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[115] Al-Biruni, *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind*, p. 102. For a survey of the early Muslim author's evidence on the Afghans see in: Н. В. Ханыков (in supplements to К. Риттер, *Иран*), стр. 554—559; И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 28—33; В. А. Ромодин, *Социально-экономический строй юсуфзайских племен...*, ч. I. (a M. S. Degree manuscript).

[116] H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan...*, p. 82.

[117] Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat an-Nuzzar*, Vol. III, p. 89.

[118] Babur, *Babur Namah*, pp. 152, 163, 172. See, also: И. П. Петрушевский, *Труд Сейфи...*, стр. 144.

half of the first millennium B. C. and the first centuries A. D. Along with some other living languages (Munjani and its Yidga-munji dialect, and the Pamir languages: Shugnan and Rushan and their dialects, Yazghulam, Ishkashimi and Wakhan) the Pashto language constitutes the south-eastern sub-group of the East-Iranian languages, standing in this group middle-way between Munjani and the Pamir languages. [119] Some scholars consider all these languages a continuity of the ancient Sako-Tokharian dialects. [120] Another view is that the group from which Pashto has sprung and the Sako-Tokharian dialects, related as they might be, are different branches of the East-Iranian dialects which were in use in the territory of present-day Afghanistan and the southern areas of Central Asia from the fourth century B. C. to the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. [121]

The dissolution of clan organization as a result of the progress of productive forces and population growth led to the gradual dispersion of the Pashtun tribes. Part of the Pashtuns came to live in the areas round the Suleiman Mountains and took to settled land cultivation. Another part retained, as the major form of economy, semi-nomadic stock breeding with certain elements of land cultivation.

In the beginning (the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) the Pashtuns occupied the Ghazni Plateau, part of the Peshawar Plain, Kohat and Bannu, as well as separate areas in the vicinity of Kabul. Later, at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Pashtuns moved into Qandahar, and in the latter half of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into the plains of Swat, Kurram and Panjkora. [122] In the fifteenth century the Pashtun tribes made their way into the territory of the Zhob, Loralai and into the region of Shal (Quetta). The migration of the Pashtuns was facilitated by the fact that some part of the settled Irano-Tadjik and Indo-Aryan population of these areas had been exterminated during the incursions of the Mongol-Turks under Chingiz Khan and his successors, [123] and under Timur, and another part had withdrawn into safer places.

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[119] И. Зарубин, *К характеристике мунджанского языка*, стр. 129.

[120] И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую философию*, стр. 342.

[121] G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, pp. 38—39.

[122] For more information see: И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 91—97.

[123] The historian Juwayni (circa 1260) reported that where "a hundred thousand had lived not a hundred remained after the invasions of Chingiz Khan (Juwayni, *Tarikh-i Jahangushai*, Vol. XVI, p. 17). Ibn Battuta (1331) found an Afghan-inhabited village in the place of Kabul, a big city destroyed by the Mongols (Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat an-Nuzzar*, Vol. III, p. 89). I. P. Petrushevsky, who has undertaken special research into the aftermath of the Mongolian invasions, points out that the immediate outcome of these invasions was "a sharp decline in the population numbers, above all the labour numbers, because some had been massacred or taken captive and some

As the Pashtun tribes dispersed far and wide, the clan ties dissolved, and unions of tribes came and went.[124] The seizure of new lands went hand in hand with the conversion of the indigenous settlers into a dependent section of the population.[125] In such circumstances the chieftains and seniors of the tribes took the advantage of clan organization as a tool of suppressing and exploiting this dependent population. The Pashtun tribes' struggle for land would result in that even some of the Pashtun tribes themselves sometimes lost their independence and became the vassal of a stronger tribe. On the other hand, property and social inequality within the Pashtun society was in progress. The lion's share of the war loot went to the khans and maliks. In the most advanced tribes, both socially and economically, khan power gradually became usurped and gave way to khan-khel, the khan family of a tribe. Another factor contributing to the growth of property inequality was the parcelling of the loot among the rank-and-file according to their armament: those who were better armed, and hence better off, took more.[126]

The dissolution of clan organization involved some vital changes in the ideology of the Pashtun society, thus contributing to the gradual spread of Islam. There is good reason to suppose that as long ago as the end of the tenth century the bulk of the Pashtuns were non-Muslims.[127] The new religion gained more ground among the Pashtuns as the Pashtun lands fell under the political and ideological control of the Ghaznivides and Ghurids and the Pashtun aristocracy was drawn into the predatory campaigns undertaken by the sovereigns of Ghazni and Ghur.

Another factor that made the Pashtuns embrace Islam was that the Islamic authorities sanctified, and in this way stimula-

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had fled" (И. П. Петрушевский, *Земледелие и аграрные отношения в Иране XIII—XIV веков*, стр. 38).

[124] Thus, the Yusufzai union comprised a part of the Shinwari tribes

[125] Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i Afghani*, p. 193.

[126] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[127] Describing Nihar (نیهار possibly Ninhar-Nangrahar) in the vicinity of present-day Jalalabad, the author of *Hudud-al-'Alam* (Sheet 16a) pointed out that the local ruler had over thirty wives "of the Muslims, Afghans and Hindus". زن بسیار دارد از مسلمانان واز افغانان واز هندوان بیش از سی If Islam was widespread among the Pashtuns at that time, the Afghan wives would not, of course, be contrasted to the Muslim wives. In this connection it is worthwhile to refer to the description of two other settlements given in the same document: R...b. "and in it (live) the unfaithful, Wakhanians" and Samarkandak in which "there are Hindus, Tibetians, Wakhanians and Muslims" (*ibid.*, Sheet 25b). There is no doubt that in the description of Samarkandak's population the Wakhanians are contrasted to the Muslims precisely as the unfaithful (i. e. in the same way as the Afghan wives are contrasted to the Muslim wives of Nihar's ruler). In the medieval chronicles concerned with the history of the Afghans we find direct reference to that even at a later date part of the Pashtuns were idol worshipers (see, for example, Neamet Ullah, *History of the Afghans*, Pt. II, p. 41).

ted, the development of feudal relationships. Here it is important to note that the Muslim theologians were the first to form into a privileged estate of the Pashtun society, and it was they who made "the first breach in the system of agrarian relationships based on common landownership.... *Seri*—a land benefice granted to the clergy can and must be regarded as the initial form of feudal land tenure" among the Pashtuns. [128]

As they dispersed over the vast territory between the Indus and the Hindu Kush, the Pashtuns had all kinds of peaceful contacts, as well as armed clashes, with the native population. The outcomes of these contacts and clashes varied, depending on the particular historical circumstances basic to one region or other. On some occasions the natives who had survived the Mongolian massacres were driven away and the Pashtuns took hold of their lands. On other occasions the native population had to submit to the Pashtun tribes or tribal unions. Often these contacts resulted in the Pashtuns' gradual assimilation of the neighbours, who became a part of the clan structure of the Pashtun society. [129]

In the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the Pashtuns assimilated several Turkish tribes who roamed about the territory of the Ghazni Plateau. The largest of these were the Khalaj tribe (or tribal union), [130] to whom one of the largest of the Pashtun tribes—the Ghilzais—are affiliated.

In the legendary lineage which traces the descent of all Pashtuns to the common ancestor Qais Abdur Rashid, the Ghilzais are the descendants of his granddaughter Bibi-Mato from her illicit relation with Shah Husein, the son of the Ghur ruler. [131] Since the ethnonym Ghilzai (غلزی) means literally the son of sin in Pashto, this lineage seems to have reflected both the folk etymology of the tribe name and the notions of the tribe's non-purely Pashtun (in the female line) origin. As for the reference to the relation with Ghur, this probably indicates that the range of

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[128] И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 188.

[129] It sometimes happened, of course, that some of the Pashtun tribes or clans who had advanced too far from their homelands and found themselves amidst the un-Pashtun population were subject to assimilation. Thus, certain sub-divisions of the small Iranian-speaking nationalities of present-day Western Afghanistan—the Taimanis and Jamshidis—are related genetically to the Pashtuns (see: K. Ferdinand, *Preliminary Notes on Hazara Culture...*, p. 8).

[130] The author of *Hudud-al-'Alam* (Sheet 22b), who localizes the Khalaj within Ghazni, points out that they also inhabited Balkh, Tokharistan, Ghuzganan (between Mary and Balkh) and Bust in Seistan. On the Khalaj in Seistan we also find reference in Al-Istakhri (*Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 246). Abu-l-Ghazi Khan says that the Khalaj lived in Mawarannahr, Khorasan and Ghur (Abu-l-Ghazi Khan, *Shajara-i Tarakima*, lines 370—375).

[131] Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i Afghani*, p. 261.

the descendants of the Ghilzai—Khalaj once lay to the north of the Ghazni Plateau.

The Tarkalani tribe, who was incorporated in the Khakhi tribal union in the fifteenth century, also had genetical relations with the Turks. Originally they roamed about Kalat-i Ghilzai, advanced north later and occupy a great portion of Bajaur at present.

Apart from some Turkish tribes or other separate, rather small groups of Turkish settlers—military colonies of a kind established by the rulers of Ghazni and Kabul on the periphery of the lands inhabited by the Pashtuns (with a view of safeguardening the roads, protecting the merchant caravans, etc.)—also underwent assimilation, as well as groups of Mongolian and Turkish-Mongolian nomads who had made their way into South Afghanistan in the time of the Mongolian invasions. A descendant of one of these Turkish-Mongolian ethnic groups seems to be the Mughal clan of the Khattak tribe, who is known to have been adopted by this tribe. [132]

Another line of evidence in support of the substantial influence of South Afghanistan's Turkish-speaking population on the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns is a large proportion of Turkish borrowings in the vocabulary of Pashto—a fact which is brought to light in the works of M. G. Aslanov. [133]

The Tajiks and the Iranian nationalities and tribes related to them, who inhabited most of the territory between the Hindu Kush and the Suleiman Mountains, and an area south of the Suleiman Mountains, in the first half of the second millennium A. D., had a far-reaching effect on the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns. Some part of these nationalities and tribes seems to have spoken Parachi and Ormuri (or Baraki), which G. Morgenstierne regards as "the survivals and descendants of the primeval Iranian languages" of South-Eastern Afghanistan (Kabulistan). [134]

Here it is worthwhile to note that quite a few Pashtun tribes (including the Afridis, Orakzais, Mangals, Khattaks, Khugiani, etc.) descend from the Ormuri tribe. [135] The first extant reference to this nationality we find in Babur: enumerating the various ethnic groups incorporated in the population of the Kabul Wi-

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[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 319—320. V. Ya. Vladimirtsov pointed out that "the Mongols who had moved west soon dissolved in the surrounding ethnographic medium" (В. Я. Владимирцов, *Mongolica I...*, стр. 329).

[133] See, for example, М. Г. Асланов, *Заимствование из тюркских языков в пушту*, стр. 56—65.

[134] G. Morgenstierne *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. I, p. 13. On Ormuri and Parachi see in more detail: И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 339—340; *Иранские языки*, стр. 167—170.

[135] For the genealogical legends concerning the origin of these tribes see: H. W. Bellew, *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan...*, pp. 63—64; O. Caroe, *The Pathans...* pp. 20—23.

layat, he lists the Baraki (Ormuri), indicating that they spoke a language of their own.[136]

From the materials collected by M. Elphinstone it is clear that the Ormuri inhabited the regions of Logar and Butkhak (south and east of Kabul) in the early nineteenth century.[137] There is evidence that they also inhabited some areas north of Kabul. The settlements of the Ormuri also occur in Kaniguram (Waziristan), Nowshera, east of Peshawar, and in the South-Western Punjab (Bahawalpur).[138] All these settlements probably resulted from the migration of the Ormuri from Kabulistan (thus, the Ormuri have come to Kaniguram from Barak-i Barak of Logar).

Since Tirah, which was inhabited by the Afridis and near which the Ormuri lived at a later date, was not incorporated in Afghanistan as early as the mid-sixteenth century,[139] and the Afridis themselves, as far as the available evidence g es, are the aborigenes of these lands, it is not impossible that this Pashtun tribe is related genetically with the Ormuri and is in fact a part of this nationality assimilated by the Pashtuns.[140] It is possible that certain Dardic-speaking tribes also contributed to the formation of the Pashtun tribes of Tirah. This contention is supported by the presence of the speakers of the Dardic dialect Tirahi in sereval settlements south-east of Jalalabad; the inhabitants of these settlements, as the legend runs, moved here from Tirah a few hundred years ago.[141] The Dardic substratum in the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns is also attested in the linguistic records.[142]

The intense assimilation of the Ormuri by the Pashtuns seems to have proceeded throughout the late Middle Ages. Nor did it come to stop in our days. During this assimilation a part of the Ormuri of Kaniguram turned into the Pashtun tribe Urmar, which traces its descent from the mythical Urmar, an adopted (!) son of Sharhbun (Sharafuddin), son of Saraban, grandson of Qais Abdur Rashid.

M. Elphistone noted that the customs of the Ormuri are alike those of the Pashtuns.[143] The Ormuri of Butkhak, who still spoke

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[136] Babur, *Babur Namah*, p. 155.

[137] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, pp. 309—315.

[138] G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 103.

[139] In the deed which Mangu Ka'an granted to the Malik Shamsuddin I Kurt (d. circa 1278) we find Kabul, Tirah and Afghanistan among the areas transferred to his authority. For more detail see: И. П. Петрушевский, *Труд Сейфи...*, стр. 156.

[140] In this connection it is interesting to note the fact brought to light by M. G. Aslanov that "the Afridi dialect is one of the outstanding dialects of the eastern branch" of the Pashto language (М. Г. Асланов, *О формировании афганского национального языка*, стр. 15).

[141] G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, pp. 20, 21. On the Tirahi dialect see: G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 265—327.

[142] M. Shahidullah, "The Philology of the Pashto Language", p. 25.

[143] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, p. 135.

their native languages in the early nineteenth century, have dropped it according to G. Morgenstierne's evidence, and speak Pashto today; the Ormuri of Nowshera also speak Pashto. Even in Logar the Ormuri language has ousted Pashto almost completely,[144] although there were about eight thousand families speaking Ormuri in the early nineteenth century.

Other tribes and nationalities inhabiting Kabulistan also were subject to assimilation, as for example the Lamghani a part of whom participated in the formation of the Yusufzai tribes and in the conquest of the Swat Valley in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[145]

In the region south-west of the Suleiman Mountains and south of the Tobah-Kakar range the Pashtuns assimilated an Iranian-speaking nationality or tribal union whose language is known as Wanetsi.[146] The remains of this nationality, who cherish their native speech, constitute today a part of the Pashtun tribe Spin-Tarin inhabiting the vicinity of Harnai. A certain part of the Wanetsi seems to have been assimilated also by the Pushtun tribe Kakar. The Kakars also assimilated a small Indo-Aryan nationality (or tribe), Gadun.[147]

Another group who underwent assimilation was the Indo-Aryan tribes and nationalities inhabiting valleys of the Kabul and its tributaries and the territory between the Suleiman Mountains and the Indus. One of these Indo-Aryan tribes were the Pashai who, according to Marco Polo, occupied a considerable area on the southern slope of the Hindu Kush. Marco Polo called their country Pasiai (or Pashiai, Pashai), and noted that the inhabitants spoke a language of their own, were dark-skinned and were idol worshipers.[148] In the early sixteenth century Babur refers to the Pashai and their language.[149] G. Morgenstierne believes that the Pashai once occupied the whole upper and middle part of the Kabul Valley and today they occur only in the dales north of the river between Gulbahar and Waighel.[150]

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[144] G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Language*, Vol. I, p. 310.

[145] For more information see: В. А. Ромодин, *Дир и Сват*, стр. 116.

[146] On the Wanetsi language see: G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 112; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, pp. 12—13.

[147] H. W. Bellew writes that the Kakars are in fact a collection of several different peoples who, although they speak Pashto and call themselves Kakar Pashtun today, have nevertheless retained habits, customs and dialects of their own (H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, p. 93). Among the subdivisions of the Kakar tribe the early seventeenth century sources refer to the Fermuli (evidently the natives of Fermul between Ghazni and Kabul) and the Makrani, i. e. the natives of Makran.(Neamet Ullah, *History of the Afghans*, Pt. II, p. 53).

[148] *Le livre de Marco Polo*, Chs. XXXVI, XLVIII.

[149] Babur, *Babur Namah*, p. 155.

[150] G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 93; see also: М. С. Андреев, *По этнологии Афганистана*, стр. 4.

In the Swat Plain, the Yusufzai, who came here in the fifteenth century, assimilated part of the indigenous Indo-Aryan population, of whose existence in this area as early as the first centuries of our era we know from several sources, for example from the records of the Buddhist pilgrims. [151] Also, even the part of the population which for one reason or other held on longer as an isolated ethnic group, did not differ in language, customs and religion from its neighbours, Pashtuns, by the middle of the nineteenth century. [152]

Of the Pashtuns' assimilation of part of the Indo-Aryan population of the mountain valleys north and north-east of the Peshawar Plateau (the Swati, the Gujars, etc.) we find evidence in the genealogical traditions of the Yusufzais, according to which all their Khels are descendants of an Indian woman, the wife of the eponym of this tribe. [153]

On the right bank of the Indus, in Bannu and Kohat, the Jats and Awans, the ethnic groups speaking the western dialects of the Punjabi language, entered into the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns. In Bannu the Pashtuns seem to have assimilated completely the Pothi, a small ethnic group inhabiting this area as early as the fifteenth century. [154] In Kurram the local tribe Budni underwent assimilation. [155]

In the first half of the second millennium A. D. the establishment and development of feudal relationships was well on the move within the Pashtun society. A massive influence on this process was exercised by the neighbouring peoples (above all the Tajiks) in whom the feudal system had taken shape centuries before. As I. M. Reisner says, "It is the existence of the feudal surrounding that explains us why the Afghans, however primitive their social structure was, came to be involved in exchange and trade at a relatively early date and a whole group of tribes (the Powindah) stood out among them" [156] as one specialized in the services of transit trade between India and the states of Iran and Middle Asia.

One of the results of the highly developed feudal surrounding was that as clan organization dissolved—a process which compelled a large proportion of the Pashtun tribes to settle as land

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[151] Fa-hien, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms...*, p. 28; Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki...*, Vol. II, p. 167.

[152] For more information see: D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography*, pp. 217—218.

[153] For more information see: H. W. Bellew, *A General Report on the Jusufzais*, p. 157.

[154] It is possible that the name of this nationality has come down in the name Pothowar (Pothohar), a region between the Indus and the Jhelum (H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes...*, Vol. 1, p. 48).

[155] H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan...*, pp. 380—381.

[156] И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 53; see also: стр. 64—74.

cultivators—no city of their own arose among the Pashtuns, and crafts, usury and trade were still in the hands of the un-Pashtun population. Even in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries the bulk of the urban population in Peshawar comprised various Indo-Aryan nationalities and Tajiks.[157] In Kabul most of the urban dwellers were Tajiks or natives of India.[158] In Qandahar the Tajiks and Indians formed the industrial and producing class.[159]

Of the far-reaching effect of the highly developed feudal society on the formation of feudal relationships among the Pashtuns we find definite confirmation in the analysis of the Pashtun socio-political, economic and state-administrative terminology.

The analysis of this terminology undertaken by I. M. Oransky and V. A. Romodin in cooperation with M. G. Aslanov has shown that all the terms associated with land cultivation, craftsmanship, and urban life are derived from the Tajik-Iranian and partly Indo-Aryan peoples. Even many of the terms describing the Pashtun social organization they took from their neighbours.[160] The author's research into the major socio-political terms which were in use in the Pashtun society in the latter half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries (the period of the Durrani empire) shows that of the 200 most common terms 73 per cent are Persian-Tajik (*Dastah*, *Kadkhuda*, *Sargala*, *Sarkarda*, *Hamsaya*, etc.) or Arabic ones borrowed through the Persian-Tajik medium (*Malik*, *Khel*, *Taifah*, *Ghulam*, *Nawab*, etc.); 11 per cent are of Turkish or Mongolian origin (*Bairagh* [*Bairaq*], *Darughah*, *Nukar*, etc.); and 9 per cent of mixed Arabic-Persian-Tajik or Turkish-Persian-Tajik origin.

The development of feudal relationships was far from a uniform process, disclosing distinct peculiarities among different Pashtun tribes.[161]

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[157] G. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England...*, Vol. II, pp. 50—51; Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys ...*, Vol. I, p. 130; M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, pp. 254—255.

[158] G. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England...*, Vol. II, p. 73.

[159] J. Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, p. 305; M. Elphistone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, pp. 254—255; H. W. Bellew, *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan...*, pp. 18—19.

[160] "The analysis of a substantial layer of the vocabulary... leaves no doubt that in the domain of land cultivation, settled home life, craftsmanship and trade the Pashtuns derived much from the Tajiks." (И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 307). Also see: В. А. Ромодин, *Социально-экономический строй юсуфзайских племен в XIX в...* (a M. S. degree manuscript).

[161] The problems of the development of feudalism among the Pashtuns have been studied in the works of the Soviet Orientalists: И. М. Рейснер, *Возникновение и распад Дурранийской державы*; *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*; М. Г. Асланов, *Афганский фольклор* (a M. S. degree manuscript); В. А. Ромодин, *Социально-экономический строй юсуфзайских племен в первой половине XIX века...*, *Дир и Сват*; В. М. Массон, В. А. Ромодин, *История Афганистана*.

The most advanced areas, both socially and economically, were the north-east and the south-west. The former gravitated toward Peshawar and the Khyber Pass, major trade arteries linking Kabulistan and the countries north and west of it with India. The south-western area gravitated toward Qandahar and the caravan ways from Iran into the southern part of the Indus Basin via the Bolan and Gomal Passes. The Pashtun tribes inhabiting these areas were involved in exchange much earlier than others, and they established economic relations with the adjacent feudal cities at a very early date.

The feudalizing clan aristocracy of these tribes was the earliest to turn into the administrative and military stronghold of the rulers of the feudal states which controlled present-day Southern Afghanistan and the western banks of the Indus. For the services rendered they received land benefices, titles and rich gifts. Granted the right to collect taxes and command military corps, the khans and maliks gained more power over their kith and kin, thus widening social inequality and seeding up the growth of feudal relationships in the Pashtun society. Here we may note that Asadullah Khan (Saddo) Popolzai (b. in A. H. 965 or A. D. 1558), the founder of the Sadozai clan, the khan-khel of Abdali (Durrani) to which Ahmad Shah Durrani belonged, owed his ascendancy to the Safawis who made him the head of the Abdali tribe. Asadullah Khan and his successors were granted a number of privileges which made their position ever stronger. Thus, the Abdalis could not execute the Sadozais whatever misdeeds or crimes the latter committed.[162]

It is in these socio-economically most developed provinces of the Pashtuns that the first Pashtun feudal states arise: the Principalities Akora and Teri on the Khattaks' land. In the seventeenth century a small feudal principality appeared in the country of the Afridis. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Pashtuns of South-Western Afghanistan isolated into a sovereign feudal state.

The rise of the feudal states indicates that by that time the Pashtun society had splitted into antagonistic classes: the exploitating top (the khans and maliks, as well as the stratum of Muslim theologians) had stood out and the dependent, unprivileged estate—hamsaya or faqirs, that drew more and more of the former free commoners, was there.

The feudalization of the Pashtun society was paralleled by an acute social struggle, which, as was the case in the Middle Ages, proceeded under the banner of a religious heresy spearheaded against the official religion.

The history of this social struggle in which a wide section of

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[162] Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i Afghani*, pp. 119—121, H. G. Raverty, *Some Remarks...*, p. 569.

the Pashtuns (free commoners, dependent hamsaya and probably the slaves) challenged the feudal aristocracy, Muslim theologians and the foreign invaders we have studied insufficiently. But the thing that is certain is that the Rawshaniya movement (circa 1560—1638) was the most powerful, longest and best organized of all. [163] Nor was it the only one. Babur says in his notes that in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries "a heretic called Shahbaz Qalandar lived" in those areas where Bayazid Ansari (1525—1581) acted later. "This Qalandar induced part of the Yusufzais and some of the Dilazaks to embrace the heresy". His grave Babur "ordered to raze to the ground". [164]

The social struggle of the lowly section of the Pashtun society made possible the widest development of the new historically progressive productive relationships. [165] These social movements also contributed to the downfall of the Pashtun's clan divisions, as well as to their ethnic consolidation and the formation of the single Pashtun nationality.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, premises were ripe for the state unification of the Pashtun lands within the framework of an independent state, and the development of feudal relationships created internal opportunities for such a unification; the favourable external political situation (the collapse of the Great Mughal empire, the dissolution of the united Iranian state and feudal internecine strife in Middle Asia) helped the feudal aristocracy of the largest of the tribes—the Abdali—to accomplish this unification. In 1747 the sovereign Pashtun state—the Durrani empire—arose.

The establishment of the sovereign feudal state tallied with the interests of the top section of the Pashtun society because they thus acquired power to supress the lowly they exploitated. At the same time the state relieved them from the necessity to share much of the social surplus with the Mughal and Iranian landlords. Furthermore, with a state of their own this feudal top was now able to organize and carry out campaigns against the neighbouring countries and peoples. [166] The rise of the Pashtun sovereign state, particularly at the outset, was also hailed by the Pashtun free commoners, who had, in the course of many years, fought against the Iranian and Mughal landlords for the freedom of their motherland.

In the time of the Durrani (1747—1819) the aristocracy of the Pashtun tribes and the top of the Muslim theologians turned

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[163] On the Rawshaniya movement see: М. Г. Асланов, *Народное движение рошани...*, стр. 121—132; И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 273—301; К. А. Антонова, *Очерки общественных отношений...*, стр. 189—196.

[164] Babur, *Babur Namah*, p. 259.

[165] И. М. Рейснер, *Развитие феодализма и образование государства у афганцев*, стр. 282.

[166] For more information see: Ю. В. Ганковский, *Империя Дуррани.*

into an estate of big feudal landlords. The growth of feudal land tenure proceeded both through the expropriation of the un-Pashtun (partly Pashtun as well) peasantry by members of the top of the Pashtun society, and through generous land benefices the Durrani shahs granted to them. Another factor which strengthened the feudal basis of the Pashtun society was the transfer of administrative functions to the tribe khans and Ahmad Shah Durrani's successful invading campaigns.

The period between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries was a major watershed in the social as well as ethnic history of the Pashtuns, involving their consolidation into a feudal nationality.

The main areas of this consolidation comprised the north-eastern and south-western peripheries inhabited by the Pashtuns and gravitated toward the two major economic and administrative-political centres: Peshawar and Qandahar, respectively.

The struggle which the Pashtun tribes waged for more than two centuries with the Mughal and Iranian landlords who plundered the Pashtun lands and exploited their population contributed to the development and maturing of the ideas about the Pashtun ethnic unity. The sense of unity was forged and the desire for unification grew among the Pashtuns in the course of this struggle. It is known that the sons of Bayazid Ansari who had long fought with the Great Mughals called themselves "the Padishahs of the Pashtuns".[167] We possess evidence that Bayazid Ansari himself made attempts to claim the title of a Pashtuns' Padishah.[168] The outstanding patriotic poet Khushhal Khan Khattak (1613—1691), who headed the anti-Mughal rising in the 70's of the seventeenth century, called upon the Pashtuns to unite in his poems. Ahmad Shah Durrani also wrote about the unity of all Pashtun tribes.[169]

The establishment of the Pashtun united sovereign state in the middle of the eighteenth century checked to a certain extent the feudal anarchy and intertribal strife. Irrigated acreage expanded, trade and craft developed and population grew as relative security and order was brought into the Pashtun wilayats, which were the nucleus of the Durrani empire.[170] In these cir-

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[167] J. Leyden, *On the Rosheniah Sect...*, p. 396.

[168] Dh. Bhanu, *The Raushania Movement...*, p. 59; W. C. Smith, *Lower-class Uprisings in the Mughal Empire*, p. 36.

[169] "All are as one man, Abdalis and Ghilzais. What good it is that the mirror of their souls is clean. Let all Pashtuns stand together" (From the *Divan* of Ahmad Shah Durrani in Sadiqullah Rishtin's *Dy Pashto dy Adab Tarikh*, p. 77. Translated by G. F. Girs).

[170] H. C. Rawlinson, *Report on the Dooranee Tribes...* p. 827; G. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England...*, Vol. II, p. 72. The sources furnish evidence on the protection that Ahmad Shah Durrani and his successors rendered to the development of trade, as well as on the irrigational channels they built (see, for example, Mahmud al-Husaini, *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Sheets 169b, 272a, 291a).

cumstances the state-administrative and economic ties between separate Pashtun regions became stronger.

The formation of the Durrani empire and the comparatively rapid development of feudal relationships in the Pashtun regions made possible the growth of cities and the flourishing of urban life. Another contributing factor was the influx of thousands of imprisoned artisans who were driven mainly from India, and also the fact that it is in the cities that the Pashtun landlords were spending the riches they drew from the conquered lands in the form of loot, tax and tribute. Trade, especially external trade, took a new lease on life. Even though separate Pashtun sardars were engaged in trade, priority in this field went to the Indian merchants, most of whom had amassed huge capitals.[171] On the borderline between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, local markets sprang up round such major cities as Kabul. Peshawar and Qandahar as commodity-money relations developed and local exchange gained more ground.

The growth of the Pashtuns' cultural unity was another feature of that epoch. Literary forms of Pashto were taking shape on the basis of the south-western (Qandaharian) and the north-eastern (Peshawarian) groups of the Pashto dialects. Although Arabic was still the language of cult and Farsi the language of state administration and office proceedings, Pashto literature was well under way.[172] The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are the period during which the outstanding poets Kazim Khan Shaida, Abdur Rahman, Abdul Hamid, Afzal Khan Khattak and others flourished. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the poet Pir Muhammad Kakar (d. 1782) compiled the first grammar survey of Pashto.[173]

Historiography was on the move and attempts to codify Pashtun common law were made.

Yet, considerable survivals of the patriarchal, clan institutions were still intact in the Pashtun social system. One of the explanations often cited to account for the perpetuation of these survivals is that nomadic and semi-nomadic stock breeding was still the basis of economic activity for the bulk of the Pashtun people. Among other factors contributing to the survival of clan relationships were the conjunction of the settled and the nomadic sec-

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[171] For more information see: Ю. В. Ганковский, *Империя Дуррани*, стр. 59-68.

[172] The first monuments of Pashto literature date from the fifteenth century (*Daftar* written by Shaikh Mali about 1417). It is possible that the earliest Pashto literary texts belong to a much earlier date, but the matter is still in suspense (see: G. Morgenstierne, "A Pashto Text from the 11th Century", pp. 258—271).

[173] Many of the Pashtun literary works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became accessible for the scholar only in recent years; Maulana Abdul Qadir, head of the Pashto Academy in Peshawar has made great contribution to the study and publishing of these texts.

tion of the population (which perpetuated the labour division developed in the past between nomadic stock breeders and settled land cultivators); a slow transfer of the nomadic population to settled life (for the lack of sufficient arable lands); the die-hard pattern of the patriarchal village community in the settled farming areas.

Clan division was still in force. Although the Pashtun tribes were by no means primitive bands of blood relatives, the parcelling of land and water, the allotment and collection of renders and imposts, the recruiting of army, etc. were in practice within the framework of clan organization. Each of the Pashtun tribes occupied a definite area including grazing grounds and fortified by castles—*qal'as*—which served as citadels of the khans and maliks. Qal'as were usually erected at the juncture of water arteries or at the start of a channel, thus allowing the owner of the citadel to hold a whole farming province under his control.[174] The survivals of clan organization made possible the preservation of the division into privileged and unprivileged, dependent tribesmen—hamsayas or faqirs among the Pashtuns. Patriarchal slavery was still in evidence as a rudiment of slave-owning relations. H. W. Bellew pointed out that among the Yusufzais most of the khans and maliks possessed slaves; some of them had more than a hundred slaves.[175] Slaves, whose labour was employed in land cultivation and household economy, were in other Pashtun tribes as well.

The systematic land parcelling (*wesh*) was still in custom. *Jirgah*—the meeting of males, family heads—was of great import in settling issues vital for the khel as a whole. Although all Pashtuns professed Islam, and the Shariat court and the norms of feudal law codified in it gradually diffused throughout the Pashtun society, common law was predominant in the areas inhabited by the Pashtuns. Minor proceedings were settled at the village jirgah and more important matters by the malik or khan. *Badal* (retribution)—a custom under which any personal injury or breach of property, however small, was to be revenged upon—was still in practice.

The perpetuation of clan-system survivals was, in some measure, to the advantage of the Pashtun feudal aristocracy, because these survivals disguised the exploitation of commoners by the khans and maliks and entitled the latter to employ the military force of the tribe bands (*lashkars*) in their predatory wars and plundering forays. Little by little, the khans and maliks took hold of the imposts and tolls due from the hamsaya, previously shared by the whole tribe, levying upon military loot the Hamsaya

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[174] We find descriptions of the Qal'as in many travellers and investigators (see, for example, H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan...*, pp. 166—167; Ch. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys...*, Vol. I, pp. 180—189).

[175] H. W. Bellew, *A General Report on the Yusufzais*, p. 184.

obtained during their common campaigns and taking hold of those renders due from free commoners, which were previously collected for public needs. Free commoners were also taxed by the khans in the most advanced regions.[176]

Territorial divisions emerged among the Pashtuns instead of clan and family divisions in some areas as the khans turned into feudal overlords.[177]

That clan division (in those areas where it was still intact) was a survival among the Pashtuns in the latter half of the eighteenth century is attested in the fact that the Durrani shahs and their feudal consort regarded the tribes above all as administrative, fiscal and military units. On some occasions they introduced fresh divisions instead of the clan divisions. Thus, the Yusufzai, Tarkalani, Mohmands, Khattaks and some other eastern tribes were joined by Ahmad Shah into one group which was called the Bar-Durrani (the Upper or Highland Durrani); this confederacy lived to see the fall of the Durrani empire. From the Barakzai clan Ahmad Shah isolated, in order to weaken the powerful sardars of this clan, an independent clan of the Achakzai (Atsakzai).[178] The khans of other tribes, notably the khans of Durrani, and not the Ghilzai, stood at the head of the Ghilzai clans (who were age-long rivals of the Durrani). It is worthwhile to note that a Durrani laqab was sometimes endowed even on un-Pashtuns. Thus, in A. H. 1167 (A. D. 1753/54) Durrani Bamizai Laqab was bestowed on one of the Kurd tribes of Kabushan.[179] In the middle of the eighteenth century for the military services rendered Yusufzai Laqab went to the natives of India belonging to the sub-caste Jambal traditionally engaged in wood working.[180]

The above-said warrants the conclusion that in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the consolidation of the Pashtun tribes into a feudal nationality involving a single territory, language, culture and sense of identification was complete.

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In the closing centuries B. C. and the first half of the first millennium A. D. the population of Baluchistan belonged to three major ethnic groups: the Indo-Aryan in the south-eastern part of the country, the Iranian in the eastern and northern areas and the Dravidian, whose members seem to have inhabited mainly Central

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[176] Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i Afghani*, pp. 321—322; M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, p. 352; H. G. Raverty *Notes on Afghanistan...*, p. 115.

[177] For more information see: Ю. В. Ганковский, *Империя Дуррани*, стр. 89—93.

[178] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, p. 398.

[179] Mahmud al-Husaini, *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Sheet 230b. Laqab (Arabic لقب) nick-name, title.

[180] F. Barth, *Political Leadership Among Swat Pathans*, p. 27.

Baluchistan,[181] while still occurring in other areas as well as in Eastern and Southern Kirman (Kerman).

The formation of the Baluchi ethno-linguistic community is associated with the migration into Kirman and Makran of a group of the nomadic Iranian tribes whose original home embraced the areas adjacent to the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. Why and when this migration occurred is not clear. It is possible that it was brought about by Khusraw I Anushirwan's campaigns against the tribes inhabiting the territory of present-day Gilan and Azerbaijan, or by the incursion of the Ephtalites into Northern Iran.[182] If the latter is the case, the south-eastward migration of the Iranian tribes who account for the ethnogenesis of the Baluchis took place approximately in the fifth and the early sixth centuries A. D.

It is not impossible, however, that there are some other contributing factors and the migration dates from a much earlier period. In this connection Strabon's statement that in the population of Kirman "the morals and speech are, for the most part, Persian and *Median*"[183] (italicized by me—*Yu.G.*) is noteworthy. The Baluchi language descends from "the ancient Iranian dialect dominant in the territory of Media and Parthia", i. e. in the north and north-western areas of the Iranian world.[184] It is this consideration that furnishes one of the major arguments in support of the fact that the areas adjacent to the southern coasts of the Caspian were the original home of the Baluchis' migration. These ancient dialects, while disclosing some features common to Parthian, have a number of peculiarities which differ them from that language. The opinion that they are akin to Median is current. Of the movement of the Baluchi tribes from the north-western areas of Iran south-eastward we possibly find evidence in the parallel between Buluchi and the Iranian dialects-Farvi and Khuri (Biabanak in Central Iran, in the south of the Dasht-i Kavir), a parallel which stems from the prolonged existence of the Baluchi tribes in that area.[185]

The origin and etymology of the ethnic name Baluchi (Beluch, Baluj) is obscure. E. Herzfeld believes that it is derived from the Median term he has reconstructed **brza-vačiya* (Old Persian *brδa*, *vačiya*) from *brza. vak, a loud cry, in contrast to *namravak*, quiet, polite way of talking.[186] Another line of etymology is

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[181] Al-Istakhri points out that a nomadic pagan people called al-b.d.h. البدهة lived in the neighbourhood of Kach-Gandava (Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 176); this people Academician V. V. Barthold considers possible to identify with the Brahui (see: В. В. Бартольд, *Историко-географический обзор Ирана*, стр. 52). Probably we should read al-b.r.h. البرهة

[182] M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...*, p. 29.

[183] Strabon, *Georgaphika*, XV, 2, 14.

[184] И. М. Оранский, *Введение в иранскую филологию*, стр. 342. See also: W. Geiger, "Die Sprache der Balutschen", S. 231—248.

[185] R. N. Frye, "Remarks on Baluchi History", pp. 48—50.

[186] E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, Vol. II, pp. 734—735.

suggested by M. Longworth Dames; from his point of view, the word Baluch is a nick-name meaning a cock's comb.[187] Since there is evidence that in the early Middle Ages the Baluchis wore helmets decorated with a cock comb, it is possible that their ethnic name descends from the totem of the cock.

The Muslim authors localize the Baluchis to the mountains and plains of Kirman (together with the Kufich we have discussed above as vestiges of the ancient pre-Indo-European population of these areas) as early as the mid-seventh century in their accounts of the Arabic campaigns to these areas.[188] Down to the late tenth century the Baluchis occupied mainly the western and northern areas of Kirman.[189] Settlements of the Baluchies also occur in Seistan[190] and western Makran.

Namadic and semi-nomadic stock breeding was the main occupation of the Baluchis.[191]

The Arabic conquests in South-Eastern Iran contributed to the gradual spread of Islam among the Baluchis. Yet, the new religion took a long time to diffuse throughout the Baluchi society, and the pre-Islamic religious concepts were still predominant among the bulk of the Baluchis. The tenth-century authors point out that the Baluchis "were Muslims only in name".[192]

The power of the Arabic vicegerents in the territory of present-day Iranian and Pakistan Baluchistan held on down to the close of the tenth century (mainly in the coastal areas of the country; in the heart of the mainland their rein never left far beyond the walls of the fortified cities in which the military garrisons were lodged).

In A. D. 976 the Arabs still possessed certain areas of Baluchistan; at any rate Ibn Hauqal refers to an Arab vicegerent in Kizkanan (or Kaikanan, Kikan which is identified with present-day Kalat).[193] Soon Sabuktegin, ruler of Ghazni (977—997) overran the north-east of the country. In some of the sources we find evidence that the successors of Sabuktegin held Khuzdar in Jhalawan whose sovereign ruler managed, after a bitter fight, to conquer Mahmud Ghaznivi. It is also known that the ruler of Makran paid tribute to that monarch.[194]

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[187] M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...*, p. 22—23 (with a survey of the theories on the origin of the ethnonym Baluch expounded by G. W. Bellew, R. B. Hetu Ram, J. P. Ferrier, and E. Mockler).

[188] At-Tabari, *Tarikh ar-Rasul wa-l-Muluk*, Vol. V, pp. 2703 [illegible]

[189] Ibn Hordadbeh, *Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik*, pp. [illegible]; *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 26b; Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, pp. 163—16[illegible].

[190] Al-Juzjani refers to a locality in the eastern part of Seistan that was called Gumbaz-i Baluch (*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Vol. I, p. 194).

[191] *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 26b; Al-Istakhri, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, p. 164.

[192] Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan at-Taqasim*, p. 487.

[193] Ibn Hauqal, *Kitab al-Musalik wa-l-Mamalik*, p. 232.

[194] Abu-l-Fazl Beihaqi, *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*, pp. 235—236.

The Baluchi forays into Seistan and Khorasan entailed repressions on the part of the Ghaznivides. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Ghaznivide troops sent into Kirman dealt a serious blow to the Baluchis round Khabis.[195] These events, in addition to the movement of the Turkmen-Saljuks into North-Eastern Iran in the middle of the eleventh century, speeded up the migration of part of the Baluchi tribes above all from Seistan and Northern Kirman farther east into Makran, in the western areas of which, in Bannajbur (بنجبور present-day Panjgur) there were already Baluchi settlements at that time.[196]

The migration of the Baluchis into the territory of present-day Baluchistan was an important milestone in their ethnic history. It is in this territory that the ethno-linguistic community formed as the basis of the Baluchi ethnogenesis as a result of various contacts with the local pre-Indo-European, Indo-Aryan and Iranian population during the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The following fact, brought to light by the students of Baluchi folklore and genealogical legends, is worth citing here. According to these legends, the lifetime of the legendary ancestor of the Baluchis—Mir Jalal Khan, whose four sons (Rind, Lashari, Hot and Korai) and daughter (Jato) are the eponyms of the largest of the Baluchi tribes, falls on the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[197] It is evidently during this period that the major tribal unions which formed the nucleus of the Baluchi feudal nationality in the sequel did arise.

The predatory campaigns of the Ghaznivides and Ghurids and above all the forays of the Mongols, part of whom (the Nikudari Horde) settled in the territory of Western Afghanistan and Eastern Iran in the middle of the thirteenth century,[198] resulted in the devastation of farming oases in the territory of Baluchistan, the reduction of the settled land-cultivating population and the decline of several small feudal states that flourished there (Turan in the eastern part of Baluchistan, with Khuzdar as the capital city; Kandabil, present-day Gandava; Kej in Western Makran, and others).

These events contributed to the dispersion of the Baluchi tribes from Makran farther north and north-east, up to the fron-

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[195] Nizam al-Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, pp. 68—72; also see the translation of a tale by'Awfi (circa 1176—1232) dealing with these events in H. W. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India...*, Vol. II, pp. 193—194.

[196] Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan at-Taqasim*, p. 478.

[197] M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...*, p. 35—36; D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, p. 44.

[198] Marco Polo, who was imprisoned by the Nikudari Mongols but escaped, describes their forays as follows: "They know well the localities; ...they come here by the dozen thousands, sometimes more, sometimes less. Once they seize a plain, no one escapes, neither men nor cattle if they make their mind to plunder; there is nothing that they cannot take hold of. When they take a folk in captivity they slay the old and take away the young whom they sell as slaves." (*Le livre de Marco Polo*, Ch. XXXVI), Nikudari from Nikudar, grandson of Jagatai, second son of Chingiz Khan.

tiers of the Punjab and Sind. In Central Buluchistan (the Kalat Plateau) the Baluchis met the repulse of the Brahui tribes and split into two streams. The southern stream brought the Baluchi tribes to Lower Sind in the early fourteenth century. The other stream skirted the Kalat Plateau in the north and found itself in the vicinity of present-day Derajat. About 1470 Multan's ruler Shah Husain Langah (1467—1502) alotted lands on the western bank of the Indus for the settlement of the Baluchis. At the close of the fifteenth century Ismail Khan, Fath Khan and Ghazi Khan founded there three cities which have born their names to this day.[199]

The principal reason why the Baluchis dispersed over the vast territory between Kirman and the Indus was that clan organization was disintegrating and feudal relations taking shape among them as a result of the slow but steady development of the productive forces. As population grew, the grazing grounds were not enough to go round, the Baluchis were compelled to take in new lands. Inter-tribal wars and clashes became frequent, and the defeated tribes either had to submit before the winner or had to abandon their lands and look for new lands. Warcraft, which bulked large in the life of the Baluchis as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, rapidly gained in prestige.[200]

The decline of land cultivation, the breakdown of the irrigation systems and a sharp drop in settled population arising from the Mongolian invasions and the subsequent feudal anarchy all contributed to the drastic increase of the proportion of nomadic and semi-nomadic stock breeding in Buluchistan's economy and, as a corollary, to the growth of the political force, power and influence of the aristocracy of the Baluchi tribes. The combined result of these processes was the slowed-down development of feudal relationships in the territory of Baluchistan, the comparatively late consolidation of the country's population into a feudal nationality, consistent with the traditions of clan life and relationships lingering as stable survivals. Another factor that made the perpetuation of these survivals all the more possible was that since the Baluchis lacked statehood of their own for a long time, clan organization was the only force capable of protecting the life and property of the Baluchis against the encroachments of the neighbouring feudal rulers and their vicegerents. The corps of all able-bodied men (arranged by the clan principle) was also a reliable tool in the predatory enterprises undertaken by the feudalizing aristocracy of the Buluchi tribes.

It seems to me that the formation of the Baluchi feudal nationality began in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, when tribal unions came and went, some of them settling on the lands they seized from the local population, as the Baluchis dispersed over

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[199] J. W. H. Tolbort, "The District of Dera Ismail Khan...", p. 11; D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, p. 45.

[200] Nizam al-Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, p. 68; *Hudud al-'Alam*, Sheet 26b.

the territory of the country bearing their name to this day. Settlement entailed the dissolution of clan ties. The unions by blood and marriage gave way to territorial unions. In the opinion of M. G. Pikulin, neighbouring community was in its own by the end of the sixteenth century among the Baluchis of the country's eastern areas who had turned to settled land cultivation.[201] The clan aristocracy of the Baluchi tribes was slowly growing into a close-knit feudal estate as they took possession of the best grazing grounds and arable lands and brought into subjection both the local farming population and the impoverished, no longer independent nomadic population. The power of the chieftains of a tribe and its subdivisions was usurped, giving way to hereditary power in *Phagh-logh* (literally the house of the turban, the symbol of khan power),[202] i. e. in the khan family of the tribe. The military predominance of the Baluchi tribes resulted in that their clan aristrocracy was turning into the ruling stratum of the country's feudal class. This became manifest, among other things, in the fact that the territory between Kirman and the Kirthar Range and the Suleiman Mountains, which was a part of Sind in the tenth and eleventh centuries, slowly became known as Baluchistan as it is today.

The development of feudal relations differed from tribe to tribe among the Baluchis. The neighbourhood of the peoples who had embarked upon feudalism ages before was of far-reaching effect in this respect. The advanced feudal surrounding involved the Baluchi tribes in trade and exchange. The rulers of the feudal states made attempts to use the military force of the Baluchis to their own advantage, involving them in their predatory campaigns and internecine wars. The feudalizing clan aristocracy of the Baluchi tribes received their share of war loot,[203] as well as land benefices and titles.[204] This policy of the rulers of the feudal states was widening social inequality in the Baluchi society, speeding up the formation of feudal relations and contributing to the transformation or deterioration of the pre-feudal, patriarchal clan institutions.

The main range of the Baluchi ethnic consolidation lay in the north-east and the south-west of the Kalat Plateau.

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[201] М. Г. Пикулин, *Белуджи*, стр. 27.

[202] M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...*, pp. 3—4.

[203] Baluchi troops took action on the side of Babur in the war he waged against Ibrahim Lodi. After the victory, Babur says, "we began examining and dividing the treasury store," and the Baluchis, "like all soliders in general, were granted treasury cash, each according to his position" (Babur, *Babur Namah*, pp. 337—338).

[204] It is known, for example, that the rulers of Multan in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries granted, on condition of paying military service, the Baluchi sardars lands on the right bank of the Indus in Derajat (T. W. H. Tolbort, "The District of Dera Ismail Khan...", p. 11).

In South-Western Baluchistan, the oases Bampur, Kasrkand, Kej and Panjgur flourished as centres of economic and cultural life. Marco Polo, who visited these areas during his perennial travelling over the Orient, noted that the local population was engaged in land cultivation (growing rice and wheat) and stock breeding. Nor did he find trade and crafts in decline. "Many a merchant came here, by sea or on land, fetching their sundry goods and carrying away local goods when they went." [205] Panjgur (Bannajbur) was the largest city of South-Western Baluchistan in that time. The Muslim authors point out that the date bulked large in the country's economy and artificial irrigation was the backbone of land cultivation. [206]

The farming region of Kach-Gandava, whose soils were famous for their fertility, and the foothill areas of the Suleiman Range adjacent to it, formed the major economic and cultural centre in the north-west. The city of Kandabil (present-day Gandava) was the capital of the region.

Along with the ethnic consolidation of the Baluchi tribes, the assimilation of the local population by the Baluchis was well in progress. Among the nationalities and tribes who contributed to the formation of the Baluchi feudal nationality were Iranian speakers: Tajiks, Ormuri and Pashtuns; the Indo-Aryans: Sindhis and Punjabis; the Dravidian-speakers: Brahui, and finally the descendants of the Arabic settlers.

In the opinion of some scholars, one of the largest tribes today—the Marris—comprised the Pashtuns and Khetrani assimilated by the Baluchis, as well as the Hasani, an Indo-Aryan nationality (or tribal union) occupying most of the foothill area south of the Suleiman Range before the Baluchi invasion. [207]

Part of the Brahui tribe, Kird, entered into the Baluchi tribe, Mazari. Here it is worthwhile to note that the Brahui language the Buluchis call Kir-gali or Kur-gali. Part of another Brahui tribe—the Rahshani—entered into the composition of the Rinds. The bulk of the Baluchi tribes Gichkis and Dodais are the assimilated Sindhis. [208] The Buledhi tribe included descendants of the Arabs. [209]

The result of the cleavage of the Brahui tribes into the Baluchis was that the Baluchis consolidated into two major ethnic groups: the north-eastern (Suleimani) and the south-western

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[205] *Le livre de Marco Polo*, Ch. 188.

[206] For more information see: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 329.

[207] M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...*, pp. 16—17; 58—59; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 14.

[208] For more information see: M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race...* pp. 16, 37—39;

[209] For more information see: E. Mockler, *Origin of the Baloch*, pp. 30—35.

(Makrani). First the neighbouring Indo-Aryan peoples, the Punjabis and Sindhis, and later, from the close of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Pashtuns exercised a substantial influence on the formation of the former group. In the case of the latter group, the peoples of Eastern Iran did the same. This is manifest in the language no less than in the pattern of the social institutions, agricultural techniques and material culture.

In the opinion of G. Morgenstierne, "the Iranian substratum related to the Ormuri" exercised an influence on the development of the Baluchi north-eastern dialects.[210] Borrowings from the Indo-Aryan languages had a deeper impact on the vocabulary of the north-eastern dialects than on that of the south-western dialects. On the other hand, Farsi had a great effect on the south-western dialects.[211] "The techniques of agriculture and irrigational construction, as well as the standards of weight and area, the Eastern Baluchis have borrowed from the peoples of Sind and the Punjab, and the Western Baluchis from the peoples of Iran."[212] The north-western Baluchi tribes inhabiting southern Seistan underwent an especially appreciable influence from the settled Tajik population of those areas.[213]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of state formations, in which the feudalizing aristocracy of the Baluchi tribes was in the ascendant, arose in the territory of Baluchistan. The rulers of these states were the vassals of the Iranian shahs and the Great Mughals. By the middle of the eighteenth century the conditions were ripe, as a result of the dissolution of the Nadir Shah's empire and the weakening of the power of the Great Mughals, for the whole Baluchistan to unite within the framework of a single feudal state. This unification was accomplished by the rulers of the mightiest of the khanates—Kalat, who came from the Kambarani or Ahmadzai dynasty of Brahui origin (from the founder of the dynasty—Mir Ahmad who reigned in 1666—1695).

The Beglerbeg (begs' beg) of Baluchistan Nasir Khan Baluch (1750—1795) was the most powerful of these rulers. In the matters of war, his power was supported by a confederation of five Brahui tribes whose sardars were endowed with lands in Sarawan and Jhalawan. Nasir Khan's domains included Bampur, Kaskand and Dizak in the west, Shal (Quetta) in the north, Harran and Dajil (south of Dera Ghazi Khan) in the north-east. In

[210] G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. I, pp. 316—317.

[211] В. А. Фролова, *Белуджский язык*, стр. 62—63. W. Geiger, *Die Sprache der Balutschen*, S. 234.

[212] М. Г. Пикулин, *Белуджи*, стр. 60; also see: М. Питхавалла, *Пакистан*, стр. 116.

[213] See, for example, W. A. Fairservis, *Archaeological Studies...*, p. 27.

the east these bordered on Sind. The Khans of Las-Bela and Kej were vassals of Nasir Khan in the south.[214]

Although Nasir Khan Baluch was a vassal of Ahmad Shah Durrani and his successors, the only thing that this vassalage demanded was the supply of an armed contingent to the Durrani army. For this Nasir Khan gained the control of Shal, Mastung, Harran and Dajil. Nor did the Durrani shahs interfere with the internal affairs of the Kalat Khanate.[215]

The growth of the feudal estates held by the sardars of the Baluchi tribes in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the time of troubles that followed the death of Nasir Khan[216] resulted in the dissolution of his state into several small *de facto* sovereign principalities. An important factor contributing to the fall of Nasir Khan's state was the desire of the rulers of separate regions to raise their share in the gross feudal tallage by reducing the share due to the Kalat khan as head of the state.[217] While Nasir Khan's annual revenue exceeded three million rupees, his son and successor Mahmud Khan (1795—1816) had a mere income of 350 thousand rupees, since the feudal rulers of Kej, Panjgur, Las, Dizak and Kharan who struck out on their own took full possession of the tallage levied on the population of these provinces.[218]

A large variety of stable clan-system survivals is a distinctive feature of the Baluchi social structure in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Clan division was intact almost every-

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[214] A. W. Hughes, *The Country of Baluchistan*, pp. 186—187. For a brief account of the history of the Kalat khanate see: М. Г. Пикулин, *Белуджи*, стр. 66—71; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, pp. 276—290; R. Leech, *Brief History of Kelat...*, pp. 473—512.

[215] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, pp. 449, 496, 556; J. Malcolm, *History of Persia...* Vol. II, p. 237; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, pp. 284, 316.

[216] Husain Ali, *Zib-i Tarikhha*, Sheets 71b, 72a; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, pp. 285—288.

[217] An absolute increase in tallage was impossible since the bondage of most of the Baluchi free commoners was just getting under way. Further, the Baluchi peasants were armed to a man and the feudal rulers thought it more profitable and safer to employ them in their armed raids on the neighbours. Many of the Baluchi tribes were totally exempt from paying any impost or render on condition of supplying an armed contigent to the army of the feudal princes. Even when the tribes had to pay, the rates were low indeed, and it is the Tajiks (Dehwars or Dehkans) or the farming Jats, who cultivated part of the lands alotted to, or captured by, the tribe, that were above all levied upon, and not the Baluchis themselves. This, in our opinion, explains the low impost rates levied in Baluchistan at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; land impost was 5 to 10 per cent of the crop yield; no impost on cattle was levied at all. In Las-Bela, for instance, market renders and duties were the main source of tax revenue (H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, pp. 295, 299).

[218] The memorandum of the British agent Ghulam Sarwar, who visited Baluchistan in 1793 (in H. R. Gupta's book entitled: *Studies in the later Mughal History...*, p. 277); H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, pp. 294, 299—300, 304; M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul...*, p. 496.

where, even though the Baluchi tribes were no blood-related collectives. Only among the Baluchis who settled in Sind and the Punjab, the clan ties had, in large measure, lost their status in that period.

Most of the commoners in the period under consideration were still independent and ful-fledged tribesmen. Systematic land parcelling was in practice and the Jirgha—the council of full-right male commoners, family heads—was still in force among the tribes of North-Eastern Baluchistan. Common law reigned high and the tribe khans had to take it into account. In Makran the feudal top enjoyed extensive power; part of the commoners having lost their independence, in fact assumed a status of the dependent, unprivileged stratum, the *Ra'yat-i hamsaya*. In Eastern Baluchistan this dependent category of the population consisted, largely of members of the un-Baluchi population: Tajiks, Punjabis and Sindhis, the descendants of the indigenous population or the emigrants who were leaving the areas beyond the Indus and seeking refuge in Baluchistan from ruthless feudal exploitation. The most unprivileged section of the population were slaves captured during raids or bought for money: the sources show that this group of the exploited folk was rather numerous.[219]

A tribe (*tuman*) was divided into clans called *phara* (*takar* among the Marris). Each clan consisted of geni, *phalli*. A tribe was headed by a tumandar and a clan by a muqaddam. Although the khans of Kalat were entitled to appoint tumandars and muqaddams, these positions were in fact inheritable and always taken by persons belonging to one and the same khan (*phagh-logh*) family.

The lack of arable lands and the extensive pattern of cattle breeding tended to perpetuate clan-system survivals, compelling most of the Baluchis to lead a nomadic life. The policy of the Baluchi feudal top also kept intact the backward forms of social organization, taking advantage of these forms to reinforce their domination and disguise the class contradictions.

The feudal top of the Baluchi society comprised tumandars and muqaddams and their immediate consort. Tumandars headed and organized nomadic crossings and commanded tribe corps; supported by their own bands, they administered justice and punishment over their tribesmen and dependent population. Also, they acted as tax collectors, collecting and handing over taxes to the khan of Kalat; part of the taxes collected the khan of the tribe would take possession of "as a tip".[220]

During the rise of the Kalat Khanate one part of the lands conquered by the Ahmadzais (or granted by the Durrani shahs as fee) became the domain of the ruling dynasty, and the other part was

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[219] See, for example, H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde...*, p. 63.

[220] *Ibid.*, pp. 291—294.

parcelled as jagir to the sardars and khans of the Baluchi and Brahui tribes, who taxed the Tajiks, Sindhis and Punjabis cultivating these lands. Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe chieftains virtually became big landlords, possessing arable lands and grazing grounds which were not always deemed, even *de jure*, public ownership of the whole tribe. The khans levied part of the cattle produce on nomadic cattle breeders and rent-tax on land cultivators. They took hold of the imposts due to the community, compelling the dependent population to labour free as builders at the khans' citadels, messengers, huntsmen, etc.

The clergy was another privileged stratum of the feudal class, comprising Muslim theologians and the descendants of innumerable Muslim saints who were exempt from any duties or obligations before the state. The lands and other property granted to them were usually free from taxation.

The far-reaching influence of the Tajiks, Sindhis and Punjabis on the social-economic relations arising in the Baluchi society in the feudal epoch resulted in that craft among the Baluchis (like among most of the Pashtun tribes) was concentrated in the hands of un-Baluchis. In the few cities there were, the bulk of the population was also un-Baluchis. In the main, it is the Hindus, natives of Multan and Shikarpur who were engaged in trade. They, for instance, possessed about 400 to 500 best houses in Kalat in the early nineteenth century; they enjoyed protection and patronage on the part of the authorities, as well as freedom in the matters of devotion.[221] The Hindu merchants purchased produce of land and cattle due to the landlords as tallage and supplied them with all kinds of commodities imported from India, Iran, Afghanistan and Middle Asia.[222]

Baluchi literature developed for centuries mainly as folklore circulated by word of mouth, because Baluchistan was a backward country both economically and culturally, urban life was in its infancy and no big cities were in existence.[223] As the Baluchi feudal state came into its own, Farsi became the language of office proceeding as it was in the neighbouring countries. Arabic remained the language of cult. As for literature in Baluchi, it was nearly stunned in its development; the Baluchi literary monuments, as far as the available evidence goes, are few and they are in fact mere records (possibly modified) of the folklore texts.[224]

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[221] *Ibid.*, pp. 77—78, 281.

[222] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[223] И. И. Зарубин, *К изучению белуджского языка и фольклора*, стр. 660—679; *Белуджские сказки*, ч. I—II; M. Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, Vol. I—II.

[224] W. Geiger, *Balučische Texte mit Uebersetzung*, S. 579—589; J. Elfenbein, *A Baluchi Text with Translation and Notes*, pp. 86—103.

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The ethnogenesis of the Bengali people comprises as its core the Indo-Aryan nationalities Radha, Gauda, Vanga and Kamarupa, whose formation in the preceding period we have discussed above. The major centre of the ethnic consolidation of the Bengalis of the West Bengal was the region of present-day districts Murshidabad and Malda, where the country's principal political, economic and cultural centres (Karnasuvarna, Ramavati or Ramauti, Lakshmanavati or Lakhnauti) were situated for many centuries. In East Bengal the major centre of the Bengali ethnic consolidation was the region of present-day districts Dacca and Faridpur where one of Bengal's largest medieval cities, Vikramapura, lay.

Among the factors contributing to the comparatively rapid consolidation of the Bengali feudal nationality were the lack of wide diversities in language and culture between the slave-owning nationalities basic to the Bengali ethnogenesis; the presence of common cultural and religious centres in these nationalities; the favourable conditions for population dispersion; and finally the lack of substantial natural frontiers which would stand in the way, and prevent intercourse between separate sections of the arising Bengali feudal nationality. Last but not least, the consolidation of the Bengali nationality was prompted by the common historical destinies of Bengal's population as in the period from the late sixth to the early thirteenth century most of the country's territory (excluding the region of Chittagong) was unified into a single feudal state under a sequence of dynasties: the Gauda (the late sixth to the seventh century), the Pala (the mid-eight to the late eleventh century) and the Sena (the late eleventh to the beginning of the thirteenth century). Even when Bengal was overrun by the Muslims, she remained *de facto* a sovereign state for nearly three centuries; furthermore, the Bengal rulers sometimes managed to extend their power over the frontier areas of Bihar, Orissa and Assam.

The predominance of settled land cultivating economies in Bengal helped the arising ethnic community to come into its own rather rapidly and firmly. As early as the end of the eighth century the population of Bengal seems to have been looked upon in other parts of the subcontinent as a single ethnic whole possessing a distinct language, culture and ethos.[225] Of the peculiar culture which had taken shape in Bengal in the early Middle Ages we find evidence in the flourishing Gour School of Sanskrit poetry, the rise of the Gauri or Gaudi skript[226] and other facts.

The Bengali ethnic community proved to be so steadfast that none of the political storms that were raging over Bengal, nor internecine wars or foreign invasions, could shatter it.

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[225] Dakshiniyachihna, *Kuvalayamalakatha.*

[226] Al-Biruni, *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind*, Vol. I, p. 82.

The Bengali ethnic consolidation involved the assimilation of some. Tibeto-Burman tribes and nationalities akin to the modern Bodo, as well as separate ethnic groups of the Munda and Mon-Khmer. This assimilation contributed to the constant migration of the Bengali population in the Middle Ages into the thinly peopled eastern and north-eastern areas where there were abundant hitherto uncultivated arable grounds. As they assimilated the indigenous population, the Bengalis imbibed certain features of the religious concepts peculiar to that population.

The Bengali language (*Banga-bhasha*) descends from the dialects of Magadha Apabhransha or Eastern Magadha, as S. K. Chatterji terms it. Although, as he believes, Bengali as an entity was recorded already in the fifth-century epygraphic monuments (geographic place-names) [227] it is probable that the formation of Bengali on the basis of the dialects of Magadhi Apabhransha was complete only by the close of the first millennium A. D. It is precisely to this period (the ninth and tenth centuries) that the scholars attribute the earliest of the Bengali extant texts, *Chorjapod*, a versified record of "the occult rite of one of the latest Buddhist sects popular among the lowly people".[228]

Certain distinctions between the western and the eastern dialects of the Bengali language seem to have been in evidence already at the beginning of the second millennium A. D. Thus, in the *Prakrtanushasana* compiled by Purushottama at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we find reference to Dhakka-bhasha, a special vernacular dialect prevailing in South-Eastern Bengal.[229] Amir Khusraw (1253—1325) mentions the existence of two groups of dialects: the western (Gaur or Gauda) and the eastern (Bengal). It is possible that one of the reasons that the eastern dialects are contrasted to the western ones lies in the influence of the Tibeto-Burman languages and the languages of Assam on the spoken vernacular of the country's eastern areas; a similar influence (for a later period, though) has been noted, in particular, in the vocabulary. [230]

The processes of feudal decentralization had led in the end of the twelfth century to the actual disintegration of the Sena state and the formation of several feudal principalities in South and East Bengal. This period of trouble was concurrent with the emergence of Muslim invaders at the frontiers of Bengal and to a large extent determined the success of Muhammad Bakhtyar Khan, military leader of the Delhi Sultan Muhammad Ghuri. In 1199—

[227] S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 109.

[228] Н. Рай, *Бенгальская поэзия XIX—XX вв.*, стр. 10.

[229] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 239.

[230] G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 132. After the Muslim conquest the Bengali vocabulary became enriched also with Arabic. Persian and Turkish borrowings.

1202 he overran the northern part of the country and founded there a virtually sovereign state with Lakshmanavati (Lakhnauti) as its capital.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the Muslim conquerors, with a footing at Lakhnauti, gradually overran the other areas as well. Taking the weakening of the Delhi sultans' power to their advantage, the vicegerents had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, become sovereign overlords *de facto* as well as *de jure*; some of their dynasties ruled in Bengal down to the time when the Great Mughal Akbar conquered the country (excepting the region of Chittagong) in 1576. Later, in the time of Aurangzeb (1659—1707) Chittagong also fell under the rule of the Great Mughals.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the city of Dacca [231] became a major administrative centre of the Bengal Subah (province), when subahdar Shaikh 'Alauddin Islam Shah (who ruled in 1608—1615) transferred his residence to that city.

The Muslim invasion contributed to the spread of Islam in Bengal. As early as the first half of the fourteenth century most of the Bengalis seem to have professed the old religious cults; at any rate, Ibn Battuta said that the inhabitants of the villages and towns he had crossed were idol worshipers (واهلها كفار) even though were under Muslim control.[232] Little by little, a great proportion of the Bengalis embraced Islam partly because of the activity of Muslim preachers, who were supported by the state. The new religion gained the highest popularity in the east of the country, where Buddhism was prevalent among the common people prior to the Muslim invasion [233] and the adherents of the orthodox Hinduism in power chased the advocates of Buddhism. The Chinese traveller Mahuan, who visited the place in the early fifteenth century, noted that the countrymen were Muslims.[234]

In the west of Bengal, it is mainly members of the lower castes and the unprivileged class of landless peasants and artisans suppressed by ruthless feudal exploitation who converted into Islam. For many of them the conversion meant a farewell to the old caste and communal ties. For this reason, the Muslims were the first to leave the old settled areas when land famine and feudal oppression drove the Bengal peasants to seek new lands (and unsettled lands were largely found in the east of the country). The outcome was that Islam spread far and wide above all in the eastern areas of Bengal.

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[231] Dacca means a frontier fortress, frontier outpost (from Sanskrit *dhakka*, a drum; drums were used for conveying alarm when the enemy approached).

[232] Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat an-Nuzzar*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

[233] A. Karim, *Research into the Social Heritage of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 11.

[234] "Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala", p. 530.

It is true that members of the higher Hindu castes, and not only those of the lower castes, also embraced Islam (in the first place in order to retain their high social position); this is attested in narrative sources as well as in the records of anthropology.[235]

Ethnically, the Muslim invasion brought no serious changes in Bengal, and the invaders themselves, who came from the Irano-Tajik, Turkish and Pashtun military and civil aristocracy, dissolved rather rapidly in the mass of the Bengal population, learning its language and absorbing its culture. Among the factors that facilitated this process were that the invaders were rather few, [236] that they were not superior in culture to the indigenous population and that they had no intercourse with their own country; "within one or two generations they became almost indistinguishable" from the common mass of the Bengalis.[237] That the descendants of the Muslim invaders were totally assimilated by the Bengalis is shown by the fact that the ethnonyms they had brought along into Bengal were soon taken as purely social and not ethnic categories. Thus, the Bengal Brahmans, in order to stress their high status in the Bengal Muslim society, began to call themselves Patans (Pathans) [238] when they embraced Islam.

Bengal's Muslim rulers 'Alauddin Hussain Shah (1493—1518) and his son Nusrat Shah (1518—1532) patronized the Bengali languages and literature. On their order the *Bhagavad Gita* was rendered into Bengali (by poet Maladhar Bashu) and the *Mahabharata* was translated into Bengali (by poet Kashiramdash). Still earlier, in the fourteenth century, poet Krittibash Ojha (Krttivas) rendered, on the order of another Muslim ruler, the *Ramayana* into Bengali.[239] Writes N. Rai, "One can hardly find a Bengali family where no copy of Krittibash's *Ramayana* is kept." [240] The fourteenth and sixteenth centuries are also a period during which Bengal's greatest poets Biddepoti (Vidyapati) and Chondidash (Chandi Das) flourished. The name of Chondidash stands for a school of literature, many of whose advocates took part in the religious and reformist movement Bhakti. The prominent advocate and leader of this movement in Bengal was Chaitanya (Choitonno)

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[235] D. N. Majumdar, C. Radhakrishna, *Race Elements in Bengal*, p. 77.

[236] As Abu-l-Ghazi Khan states, Muhammad Bakhtyar Khan's strength was merely 10,000 people (Abu-l-Ghazi Khan, *Shajara-i Tarakima*, lines 385—390). By the records dating from the early 70's of the nineteenth century, out of 17,300,000 Muslims, merely 270,000 (or 1.6 per cent) Bengalis claimed descent from the Muslim settlers; the bulk of the latter (232,200) were Shaikhs (Abdul Majed Khan, "Research About Muslim Aristocracy in East Pakistan", p. 21).

[237] Syed Abdul Salam, "Life in East Bengal," p. 29; see also: Cornelis op't Land, "The Dimensions of Rural Reconstructions in East Pakistan."

[238] W. H. Gilbert, *Peoples of India*, p. 70; see also: A. Karim, "Research into the Social Heritage of the Muslims in Bengal," pp. 6—16.

[239] S. Abid Husain, "Urban Culture in India," pp. 125—126.

[240] Н. Рай, *Бенгальская поэзия XIX—XX вв.*, стр. 14.

who lived in 1486—1534. Muslim poets, including Daulat Qazi and Sayid Alawal (Alaol), also made great contribution to the development of literature in Bengali.[241]

The flourishing of literature in Bengali in the time of the sovereign Bengal state under the Muslims (the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries) points not only to the complete assimilation of the descendants of the scanty Muslim invaders by the Bengalis, but also to the high level of feudalization of the Bengali society, "when the aristocrats induct their own dialect into the state of a written and literary language as they extend their domination into the domain of ideology".[242]

The population's religious differences had no effect on the political unity of Bengal in that time, nor did they entail any far-reaching social or political disasters in the country. Tolerance was the rule in Bengal throughout the Muslim period. In their efforts to fortify their power, the rulers of Bengal tried to consolidate around their throne different strata of local landlords, both Muslim and Hindu.[243] The feud and strife of various feudal cliques arising from purely practical motives manifested themselves almost nowhere as religious clashes and hostilites.

The prolonged period of rather peaceful development that set in in Bengal after the invasion of the Muslim feudal lords is characterized by population growth, the revival of urban life and the blooming of agriculture, craft and trade.[244] Bengal in that time was one of the wealthiest, most densly populated and most developed regions of the subcontinent (by different estimates, Bengal's population in the first half of the eighteenth century was 25,000,000—30,000,000).

A large variety of food and fibres were grown, and the population of the major cities ran into dozens of thousands. Simple commodity production was in progress both in agriculture and craft; more market contacts between cities and villages came into being. The concentration of local markets that had taken shape round Dacca, Dinajpur, Qasimbazar, Malda, etc. in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries made possible the formation of the Bengal general market.[245] Exported from Bengal to other regions of the subcontinent and over the frontiers were all kinds of cotton and silk textile, raw silk, carpets and other craftwork,

[241] Q. M. Husain, "Muslim Contribution...," pp. 36—38.

[242] А. Н. Болдырев, *Некоторые вопросы становления и развития письменных языков...*, стр. 34.

[243] A. Rahim, "The Rise of Hindu Aristocracy...," pp. 104—118. The Muslim rulers and their hatchmen took part in such Hindu festivals as Holi.

[244] Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat an-Nuzzar*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

[245] For more information see: А. И. Чичеров, *Некоторые материалы о внешней и внутренней торговле...*, стр. 47—48, 51, 56; Э. Н. Комаров, В. Я. Граше, *Некоторые данные об общественном разделении труда*, стр. 9—10.

as well as numerous produces of agriculture (rice, honey, wax, pepper, indigo, sugar).[246]

The high level of feudalization prompted the survivals of clan relations and way of life to wither away; only in some or other outlying, comparatively backward areas the descendants of the Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic population assimilated by the Bengalis retained certain clan traditions.

In the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries the Bengali feudal nationality comes into its own. The completion of this process is associated with the rise of the ethnic name of the Bengalis and the geoethnic notion Bengal.

There are a few viewpoints on the origin of the name "Bengal" (Bangala-Bangla). But one thing is certain that the name descends from the ancient name of the south-eastern part of the country—Vanga, which extended over the whole East Bengal in the beginning of the Middle Ages. The transition Vanga > Vangala seems to have occurred also in the beginning of the Middle Ages (D. C. Sircar points out that the name Vangala occurs exceedingly rare down to the tenth century).[247] Some scholars contend that this extension is associated with Tibeto-Burman influence and stems from the Tibeto-Burman contribution to the ethnogenesis of the Bengalis and their languages.[248]

The extension Vangala > Bangala took place in the time of the Muslim rulers.[249] It is in the same period that the name Bangala gradually extended to cover the whole country, which it associated with the political predominance of the eastern regions. Only in the beginning of the eighteenth century when the Bengal vicegerency, which also included Bihar and Orissa, became a virtually sovereign state under the Nawab Murshid Quli Khan (1704—1726), the country's political centre shifted from Dacca into a new capital, Murshidabad, in West Bengal. At a still later date, in the middle and the latter half of the eighteenth century, the major economic centre of Bengal also transferred west, into the region of Hooghly and Calcutta—a process which arose from the inroads of the British colonialists and the colonial subjugation of the country.[250]

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[246] Extensive material is to be found in the papers of the European travellers who visited the northern and eastern regions of the subcontinent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (published by Hakluyt Society, London).

[247] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 132.

[248] R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, pp. 137—138.

[249] For more information see: N. N. Das Gupta, "Origin of the Name 'Bengal'," pp. 277—285; D. C. Sircar, "Origin of the Name 'Bengal'," pp. 62—65.

[250] As D. R. Gadgil has estimated, Calcutta's population rose twenty times, i. e. from 10,000 to 200,000, between 1710 and 1822 (D. R. Gadgil, *Origins of the Modern Indian Business Class...*, pp. 11).

Feudal land tenure was the backbone of Bengal's socio-economic structure in the late Middle Ages. All land in Bengal vested in the state.

There were several kinds of feudal land tenure, the principal of which were conditional land benefices (*jagirdari*) and private landownership (*zamindari*). The owners of the zamindari lands comprised big Hindu landlords which had been rulers of sovereign principalities and still held part of their estates, as well as hereditary leaseholders in certain areas who became virtually big landlords.[251] The high estate of Muslim theologians, who managed mosques and madrasahs and guarded the shrines of numerous Muslim saints, etc., as well as the Hindu priesthood, constituted another group of big landlords.

A manifest feature of Bengal's socio-economic structure in the period under consideration was the steady disintegration of the state feudal landownership, the appreciable growth of private feudal landownership, which, on the eve of the British conquest, gradually assumed certain aspects of manorialism.[252] The formation of private feudal landownership involved more intense exploitation of the peasantry.

Yet, rural community continued to exist in Bengal down to the British conquest.[253] Among the factors contributing to the survival of rural community was that it was a lower administrative and fiscal unit, all members of which were bound with collective responsibility.

The introduction of taxes in money in the late sixteenth century undermined community clan organization, making the Bengalese village open to commodity-money relations. In their search for money to pay taxes, the commoners were often compelled to approach the moneylender who was a necessary figure in the village; the sources indicate that the peasants sometimes happened to mortgage or even sell their lots of land.

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[251] The description of the major kinds of feudal land tenure in Bengal is given in the letter of Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan to Lord Charles Cornwallis (see: *Calendar of Persian Correspondence...*, Vol. VIII, pp. 419—422).

[252] For more information see: Э. Н. Комаров, *К вопросу об установлении постоянного обложения по системе заминдари в Бенгалии*, стр. 10—11; К. А. Антонова, *Английское завоевание Индии в XVIII в.*, стр. 76—80; 83.

[253] A Bengal community possessed a manifest social division: apart from full-right commoners (*khudkasht*) out of whose stock came the feudalizing community top (*mandal* or *muqaddam*, warden; *patwari*, a scribe; a priest; a guardian) there were commoners who did not enjoy full rights (*paikasht*). A khudkasht commoner had the inheritable right to hold definite lots of land (*jot* or *jot-jama*) on which he paid a fixed impost; paikasht commoners had no such right. Each community had as its property artisans who gradually turned into simple commodity producers, and menials. The lower stratum of rural population consisted of unprivileged and indigent labourers and day-workers (*krishan* and *majur*).

The progress of productive forces involving, as it did, the growth of public labour division and simple commodi y production undermined to a large extent the Bengal rural community as a close-knit economic unit. The outcome was further property differentiation within the community, larger numbers of unprivileged commoners (paikasht) and bonded labourers, and further progress of métayage.

The high level of craftsmanship was another manifestation of advances in the productive forces through Bengal's economy and the profound process of public labour division on the eve of the British conquest. Even in the Bengal village the traditional peasant-and-artisan ties faded away, giving way to commodity exchange at the local market. Weaving was weaned from land cultivation as a special kind of craft. Regions specialized in the production of definite kinds of craftwork arose (e. g., Dacca produced mainly high-quality cotton textile; Qasimbazar manufactured silk fabrics, Kangtoi was famous for its metal tableware, Midnapur produced ether oils, etc.). Many cities both in the coastal areas and in the interior became major centres of craft and trade.

A clear indicator of the high level of craftsmanship (above all in textile manufacture) was the differentiation of separate craft operations and insolation of certain crafts on the basis of it (spinning, weaving, bleaching, dying, etc.). Artisans toiled both for local consumers and for export. The catering of the feudal top of the society played a substantial role in craftsmanship, especially in cities.[254] Contacts with the market stimulated property stratification of the artisans: some of them went bankrupt and others grew richer, turning into an economically independent top of this estate.[255]

The advancement of raw materials and cash to artisans on the part of rich merchants and their middlemen gained high momentum, which indicates that craft production was under the control of the trade capital. Although an artisan's individual economy fettered by caste and shop regulations was the principal production unit, capitalist-type cooperation gradually made headway[256]

It is important to stress that these processes were in evidence in Bengal before the European penetration. Trade carried on by the European merchants did nothing but boosted these processes,

[254] For more information see: V. I. Pavlov, *The Indian Capitalist Class*, pp. 23—26.

[255] А. И. Чичеров, *Некоторые материалы о ремесленном производстве*, стр. 35.

[256] The existence of rudiments of capitalist craft organization shows that on the eve of the British conquest the conversion of merchant capital into new productive or industrial forms was under way in Bengal, but was interrupted by the incursion of the colonialists. For more detail see, V. I. Pavlov, *The Indian Capitalist Class*, pp. 29—32—33; А. И. Чичеров: *Экономическое развитие Индии перед английским завоеванием*, стр. 175—254.

encouraging the growth of local trade capital and contributing to the formation of a parasitic stratum of compradors. Apart from members of the local castes of traders and moneylenders (chiefly the Hindu castes) and the natives of Central India,[257] trade was also an occupation for many local feudal lords who possessed caravanserai, markets and shops.

In fine, the available evidence warrants us to conclude that Bengal in the middle of the eighteenth century was a country of developed feudalism. Although trade-usury capital acted mainly in the sphere of circulation and its major function was to cater for the feudal top, the gradual development of commodity production (on the basis of further labour division between town and village) and the formation of the Bengal general market indicate that conditions were taking shape for the transfer to a new, higher social formation and in this way to a new type of ethnic community. The British conquest stifled the progress of these socio-economic and ethnic processes.

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[257] D. R. Gadgil, *Origins of the Modern Indian Business Class...*, pp. 18, 21.

Chapter Four

THE FORMATION OF BOURGEOIS NATIONS

The dissolution of the Great Mughals' empire, internecine wars and the incursions of the Iranian and Afghan invaders created, by the middle of the eighteenth century, a situation favourable for the British colonialists to implement their predatory plans. Even though it took nearly a century (1757-1849) to overrun the subcontinent and the East India Company sometimes suffered severe defeats, the colonialists' overwhelming superiority both in personnel and materiel and India's feudal fragmentation foreshadowed Britain's ultimate success. By the middle of the nineteenth century the whole country was under British rule. The exception was some of the north-western areas (Baluchistan, the principalities round the Hindu Kush, and the Pashtun Tribal Belt) which were subjugated in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The British conquest involved undisguised and unrestrained plundering. "During the whole course of the eighteenth century treasures transported from India to England were gained much less by comparatively insignificant commerce, than by the direct exploitation of that country and by the colossal fortunes exported and transmitted to England."[1] The British colonialists took up and improved the methods of feudal exploitation of Indian working people that were in use before the invasion. They undermined the country's economy by setting too high rent-tax rates and by exacting free much of the social surplus produced by Indian peasants and artisans as a colonial tribute which was exported to Britain. According to the official records, the East India Company's profits for the 1757-1812 period alone exceeded £ 100,000,000. Besides enriching Britain's ruling classes, these huge sums also contributed to the growth of British capitalism, consolidating its material basis, rounding up the industrial revolution and encouraging the British industry. On the other hand, the exceedingly high taxes levied upon by the British colonialists resulted in that India's immediate producers had to pay not only the whole surplus but even part of the necessary product. This rendered impossible even simple reproduction, dooming millions to famine and slow death.

[1] Karl Marx, *Articles on India*, p. 49.

After 1813, when the East India Company's monopoly on Indian trade was raised, the exploitation of the country's peoples by methods of primary accumulation underwent certain changes. The subcontinent was now on the way of becoming a market of British goods and a producer of raw materials for Great Britain. Among the factors that helped British goods to find their way into Indian markets were road construction which the foreign invaders carried out for their military strategic and economic advantages, and the tariff rates imposed by the colonialists. The British machine industry and colonial tax pressure bore heavily on, and crushed the local handicraft production in those fields in which it was contesting British manufacture.

A series of land-tax reforms undertaken by the colonialists in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries (the Permanent Settlement System introduced in Bengal in 1793, the Ryotwari System in South India in 1793 and in 1817-1823, and the Mauza'war or Malguzari System, in Central India in the early nineteenth century, etc.) helped to convert India into a British market and source of raw materials. Without breaking down the feudal agrarian ralations, these reforms offered the colonial administration an effective instrument of intensifying the exploitation of the peoples of the subcontinent, directing the country's economic development to the colonialists' advantages. To pay huge taxes levied upon in money the peasants were to grow commercial crops, selling an ever increasing part of their produce irrespective of production costs.

The British invasion checked the natural course of the subcontinent's socio-economic development. The growth of productive forces in the conquered country was stunned by massive plunders, the death of millions from famine and epidemics, the decline of cities and crafts, the breakdown of the traditional economic ties and the forced dismantling and warping of the industries vital to India. Britain "has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstruction yet appearing".[2]

The colonial yoke arrested and delayed for a few decades the development of the sporadic shoots of capitalism that were in existence in India in the pre-colonial era. The social labour division between town and village that was taking shape in the country's most advanced regions was ruined by the colonialists. The socio-economic backwardness of the subcontinent proved to be not only an outcome but also an important condition of colonial exploitation. The British ruling classes, interested to perpetuate the dwindling feudal relations, went to any length to slow down the formation of capitalist system in India. Even though the country was involved in the commodity exchange with the metropolis

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[2] K. Marx, *Articles on India*, p. 24.

(when the colonialists imposed on it an ugly labour division between British industry and local agricultural production) and this contributed to the gradual incorporation of the subcontinent into the system of the world capitalist market and to the growth of commodity-money relations, this process, *per se*, was not enough to create new productive relations in the conquered country.

The British colonial yoke arrested and warped the subcontinent's socio-economic development, but it could not bring it to a standstill. Private feudal landownership was rising and maturing within the framework of the land-tax reforms introduced by the colonialists. The large-scale expropriation of the Indian peasants' proprietory rights and the conversion of the subcontinent into Britain's agricultural annex and a market of British goods was leading to the disintegration of the Indian rural community with its peculiar self-sufficing economic organization. New economic ties, above all between the major coastal cities and the country's interior were taking the place of the decaying ones. The specialization of separate agricultural regions was timidly in progress; the production of industrial crops and hence the inner exchange of goods was on the upgrade. The development of comprador trade was paralleled with the growth of local trade and moneylending capital. By the middle of the nineteenth century, local businessmen, in addition to conducting comprador trade and moneylending operations, started setting up industrial enterprises.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the capitalist system started taking shape in India. This process was boosted up by the export of British capital in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which was involved by some vital socio-economic changes in Britain, and above all by Britain's gradual embarkment on the high stage of capitalism-imperialism. Yet, the export of capital into India was, of course, possible not only because Britain had accumulated huge surplus capitals by that time, but because the dissolution of feudal relations in the subcontinent made the investment of these capitals possible (the market of labour, the internal consumer market, etc. were there).

The development of capitalist system in the subcontinent proceeded amidst colonial dependence, and this made a definite impression on this process, shaping it in an ugly and lop-sided pattern. The overseas enslavers desiccated feudal survivals in India's socio-economic structure. Having imposed on India a labour division unfavourable to the country, the colonialists were able to control the course of reproduction handicapping the country's all-round economic development and causing the country to take a way profitable to them.[8]

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[8] A number of works by Soviet historians and economists have been published in recent years, dealing with the study of the major peculiarities of capitalist development in India. See Bibliography.

The establishment of capitalist relations wrought far-reaching effects on the ethnic processes at work in the territory of the subcontinent. A new historical type of ethnic community—bourgeois nations—began to arise in the north-western part from the middle of the nineteenth century and in the north-eastern part of the subcontinent from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The country being under colonial rule and the socio-economic development of separate regions being far from uniform, this process assumed a contradictory and exceedingly complex pattern.

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Capitalist production is never at rest, but goes through a series of phases from simple capitalist cooperation and manufacture to large-scale machine industry, entailing definite stages in the formation of the capitalist main classes—bourgeoisie and proletariat—and determining the level of national consolidation attained by one people or other during the development of bourgeois relations.

Since India's colonial status made the classical way of capitalist production development (simple cooperation—manufacture—factory industry) an exception and not the rule, the formation of major classes of bourgeois society and hence the consolidation of the bourgeois nations followed a specific route in the country.

These specific peculiarities were vividly manifest in Bengal, because the harmful consequences of British rule in this part of the subcontinent were particularly clear-cut and distinct. In their sole attempt to acquire as much of the national product as possible the British colonialists dealt a severe blow to the country's economy.[4]

Bengal's urban craft was no more. The artisans either had lost their lives or fled into the countryside where they would become unprivileged tenants. The introduction of the Permanent Settlement System not only wiped out the old feudal aristocracy, but also expropriated the community peasants' rights to hold land estates. The concentration of land property in the hands of new landlords involved an extensive development of subtenancy: a parasitic stratum of intermediary rent-collectors exercising no positive effect on production arose between the peasant who cultivated a miserable plot and the landlord.[5] The outcome was an

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[4] Of the extent to which Bengal was plundered perhaps the best evidence we can obtain will be the figures compiled by Governor Harry Verelst for the import and export in 1766, 1767 and 1768. Import registered £624,375 and export £6,311,250 or in other words, the country exported ten times more than she imported (R. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vol. I, p. 33; see also: R. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the East India Company*, pp. 196—206; N. K. Sinha, *The Economic History of Bengal...*, Vol. I, pp. 210—229).

[5] In the 20's of the twentieth century this parasitic layer of subtenants registered fifty and more steps.

unrestrained growth of feudal exploitation of the immediate producers, and this, in addition to demolishing the traditional town-and-village relations, had a negative effect on the development of commodity production. Even though the mass expropriation of the peasants and artisans and their separation from the means of production brought about objective opportunities for the formation of inner consumer and labour markets—a prerequisite of the development of capitalist production—these opportunities remained to a large extent unrealized because of the country's colonial status and the virility of feudal survivals. Only in the latter half of the nineteenth century when British capital triggered the development of jute production in Bengal (which entailed an exceedingly high demand and encouraged the production of this commercial crop) the peasantry-and-market ties matured and became steady.

The colonialists monopolized Bengal's external economic connections and made deep inroads into the country's internal trade and loan-money operations, thereby curbing, and on many occasions reducing to zero, the activity of local merchants and moneylenders in the domain of circulation. The local trade and moneylending capital was allowed to function only as the colonialists' agent and middleman in those fields of the country's economy and in those forms which were profitable for British capital.

While they released a certain share of the product of the Bengal workers to the merchants and moneylenders, the colonialists at the same time exacted a considerable part of the profit from the local trade and moneylending capital (which had a negative effect on initial accumulation) and made every attempt to check the transfer of this capital from the lower forms of enterprise activity to the higher forms.

On the other hand, colonial rule in Bengal stimulated the influx of merchants and moneylenders from Gujarat and Marwar (Rajasthan) into Bengal as it produced opportunities for the activity of comprador capital. In the latter half of the nineteenth century members of the Gujarati and above all Marwari trade and moneylending castes (which bulked large in the economic life of Bengal already in the pre-colonial period) gave a great impetus to their positions in this country while acting as middlemen and agents of British firms and in certain regions took control of the local trade, which they carried out hand in hand with moneylending.[6]

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[6] "A great part of the trade is in the hands of enterprising merchants from Marwar, chiefly Agarwals and Oswals" (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, p. 273). For more detail see: V. I. Pavlov, *The Indian Capitalist Class*, pp. 313—317; В. И. Павлов, *Очерк деятельности торговцев и ростовщиков в колониальной Индии*, стр. 124—126.

As for the Bengal landlords, by the mid-nineteenth century they were made on the whole a major stronghold of colonial rule. As a result of the introduction of the Permanent Settlement System, the old feudal aristocracy lost in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries most of their estates, which passed into the hands of the local merchants and moneylenders who were at the service of the East India Company [7] being closely connected with the colonialists, these invested their accumulations into the acquisition of land property. As they procured substantial profits from the poverty-stricken Bengal peasantry by employing the methods of feudal exploitation and moneylending bondage, these new landlords had no incentive to transfer part of their accumulations into industrial production or take up the capitalist ways of economic management in land cultivation. As O. H. K. Spate hit it, the Permanent Settlement System made the Bengali absentee landlords "...parasitic hangers-on of the Anglicized culture of Calcutta...".[8]

It is necessary to note that the land-tax reforms introduced by the colonialists, made it possible to contrast different social layers of East Bengal's society by the religious principle. Since the old feudal aristocracy was Muslim on the whole and the new zamindars who took its place were Hindu for the most part, the old aristocracy, being ousted by the new zamindars, could take the religious feelings of the Muslim peasantry to their own advantages.

The pioneers of capitalist enterprise in the domain of industrial production in Bengal in the mid-nineteenth century were not local businessmen, but British capitalists who were, of course, not interested in the country's industrial development, but in the setting up of the most favourable conditions to carry on and increase the exploitation of Bengal as a market of British goods and a source of raw materials for the British industry. The position of the British colonialists in all major fields of enterprise was so firm that members of the local proprietory classes could not compete with them in the establishment of industrial enterprises. Their final goal was to become the banyan of a British firm. To be the creditor of a British trade house or its banyan who is at his masters' beck and call and receive interest was the limit beyond which no wealthy Bengali of that time could dream of.[9]

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[7] The rajahs of Qasimbazar trace their descent from Kanta Babu, a merchant from Murshidabad who raised in rank at W. Hastings' service; the founder of the family of Shobhabazar's rajahs was Nobkissen, a *munshi* (scribe) of W. Hastings. Postar's rajahs trace their descent from Lakshmi Kant, one of the seniors of the Subarnabanik trade caste which cooperated with Robert Clive. The Zamindars of Kandi, Paikparara, Pathuriyaghat, etc. are of similar origin.

[8] O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 532.

[9] Н. Кабирадж, *Национально-освободительное движение в Бенгалии*, стр. 40; also see: В. И. Павлов (В. Я. Граше), *Краткий очерк формирования крупных промышленных капиталистов...*, стр. 147.

Another consideration that deserves to be emphasized is that the British and Marwari trade firms which acted as their agents had taken up the key positions in the country's economy and made every effort to handicap the growth of Bengali merchant capital and its concentration to the amount necessary to start enterprising activity in the field of industrial production. For this reason, it is the British firms that were the founders and owners of the first industrial enterprises in Bengal (the factories processing indigo, jute and other agricultural produce, coal mines, shipwards, metal melting and metal working enterprises), and the owner of the railways was the colonial state.[10] Using their dominant position in the country's economy, the British capitalists made attempts (which proved fruitful enough) to mobilize and take to their own advantages the accumulations of local landlords and merchants.[11]

The colonial yoke hindered the formation of not only big industrial bourgeoisie, but also middle and petty bourgeoisie in Bengal.

As they involved the peasants and artisans in commodity-money relations, the colonialists objectively assisted in the development of petty economy in Bengal. The progress of public labour division was another factor that stimulated this develop-

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[10] It is as early as the first half of the nineteenth century that steam engines were installed at the docks and other enterprises owned by the British in Calcutta. In 1818, the first attempts were made to set up a cotton enterprise near Calcutta. The beginning of coal mining in Raniganj dates from the same time (1820); a total of 56 coal mines were in operation there in 1879—1880. In 1854—1855, the British businessman George Acland launched the first jute factory in Rishra. In 1882, there were 18 British-owned jute factories with a total employment of 20,000 in Bengal (notably in the vicinity of Calcutta); in the 90's of the nineteenth century the number employed in Bengal's jute industry exceeded 70,000 (at 26 factories), and the 1914 figure reached 200,000.

The colonial authorities encouraged the enterprising activity of the British capitalists and at the same time supressed any attempts made by local businessmen in this direction (for more detail see: D. H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, pp. 136, 182, 243—245; T. R. Sharma, *Location of Industries in India*, pp. 78—80; D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution in India...*, p. 63—64, 86, 122).

Railway construction in Bengal began in 1849. The 192-*km* Calcutta-Raniganj line was opened for traffic in February 1855. The construction of this was undertaken by a British private company, the East-Indian Railway Company, for whom the colonial administration guaranteed a 4.5 per cent interest; during the 1849—1858 period alone the company was paid over £ 1,528,000 on account of this guarantee (R. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vol.II, pp. 132—133).

[11] The network of managing agencies and banks set up by the colonialists was of special importance in mobilizing the accumulations of the proprietory classes in Bengal, as well as in other parts of the subcontinent, to the advantages of the British capitalists. The activity of these banks and agencies is studied in some of A. I. Levkovsky's wo ks (see, for example, *Особенности развития капитализма в Индии*, стр 106—178; *Система управляющих агентств*, стр. 161—219).

ment. In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries a definite revival of handicraft and manufacture production was in evidence in the country.[12] It is worthwhile to note that it is within a few decades after the British businessmen got into their stride with big industrial development in Bengal that this revival began. This is one of the reasons why the newly-established manufactures (no matter whether in a dispersed or a centralized form) usually functioned as external affiliations of the British industrial enterprises.

Since a certain development of craft and manufacture in Bengal was under way in the time when most of the internal market was controlled by the British colonialists and their Marwari agents, the chances of developing craft and manufacture production were very slim and largely confined to those fields where the production circumstances themselves furnished protection against the harmful competition of the British factories. Among such fields were some textile productions manufacturing fabrics to satisfy the population's traditional tastes; handicraft production of ornaments and luxuries in which an artisan's individual skill was at a primium; the manufacture of very cheap articles, involving the working and processing of low-grade raw materials.[13] The major fields of handicraft production in the eastern part of Bengal were coconut fiber twisting, the manufacture of lamps and rugs, beads and buttons, as well as exquisite articles of silver, ivory carvings, etc.

Because of the virility of feudal survivals and heavy colonial pressure, the representatives of trade and moneylending capital or the higher castes (Subarnabanik, Kayastha, etc.) who were engaged neither in land cultivation nor in handicraft and for whom industrial activity was an auxiliary preoccupation, and not Bengali artisans themselves, were the organizers of manufactures.[14] Ethnically, these organizers and owners of the manufactures to which artisans were in bondage varied a great deal and contained even Marwaris and Parsis, though Bengali bulked largest.

The colonial yoke also hindered the formation of Bengali agricultural bourgeoisie. Although the permanent tenancy laws adopted in Bengal in 1859 and 1885 reinforced to a certain extent the legal and economic status of the top tenants, the arising stratum of well-to-do peasantry had no incentive (and frequently no opportunity) to undertake capitalistic enterprise in the field

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[12] D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India...*, p. 199.

[13] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 308; D. H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, pp. 93—94.

[14] For more detail see: D. R. Gadgil, *Origins of the Modern Indian Business Class...*, p. 16; B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*, pp. 106, 345.

of agricultural production as long as the survivals of feudal relations and semi-feudal methods of exploitation of the bulk of peasantry were predominant in Bengal's agrarian structure.

Now we see that the peculiarities of capitalistic development in colonial Bengal resulted in that in the beginning this development did not involve the rise of Bengali bourgeoisie proper, related genetically to the Bengali nation in the making.

On the other hand, the rise of Bengali proletariat was another outcome of the development of capitalistic production in Bengal, as well as the big industrial enterprises, plantations, ports, railways, etc. established by the British capitalists. Although the country's colonial position was leading to non-proletariat impoverishment, the pauperization of the mass (as the expropriation of the direct producers proceeded at a faster rate than proletarianization) and the progress of capitalism contributed to the gradual formation of rank-and-file labour, the elimination of caste and estate prejudices among them, and the consolidation of hired labour into a class of its own.

Capitalist development in different Bengal areas being far from uniform, it is in the west of the country (Calcutta, Hooghly, Howrah, Titagarh, Bhatpara, Naihati, Asansol and Raniganj) that the bulk of the industrial enterprises were concentrated and hence proletariat arose. Most of the proletarians were recruited not from Bengal's regions, but from Bihar, Orissa and Hindustan [15] where agrarian over-population and land famine were especially acute. As a result, in the early twentieth century already the Bengalis constituted the lesser part of the industrial labour as far as their numbers were concerned (from 17 to 49 per cent, depending on the branch involved), printing being the only industry in which they predominated. Among the skilled labour the proportion of Bengalis was on the whole much higher,[16] and in certain industries almost all skilled labour was Bengalis. This is explained by the peculiar formation of the Bengali working class and also by the fact that besides peasants and artisans the Bengali working class was also reinforced by ruined middle-class members: petty rent collectors, members of intellectual professions, etc.[17]

Plantation workers formed a numerous army of the Bengali working class. Its rise is associated with the boom of plantation

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[15] D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India*, p. 92.

[16] А. М. Дьяков, *К вопросу о национальном составе населения Индии*, стр. 293; *Национальный вопрос и английский империализм в Индии*, стр. 94.

[17] In 1921, there were 245,000 Bengali industrial workers and 32,800 Bengali port and railway workers in Bengal, which accounted for 31.2 per cent of the total proletariat numbers. For more detail see: Э. Н. Комаров, *Материальное положение промышленного пролетариата Бенгалии...*, стр. 8—14.

economy in Northern Bengali and the adjacent areas of Assam in the 70's — 80's of the nineteenth century.[18]

The British capital would be ineffective in Bengal unless adequate political and commercial intelligence was available, unless there were cohorts of officials, the henchmen of the colonial administration and policy, unless there were adequate staffs of clerks and other lower servicemen versed in native languages and customs etc. In other words, the British capital could not function without an European-educated (or at least versed in elementary European education) native bourgeois intelligentsia. The rise of this intelligentsia began as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century and was closely connected with the disintegration of the old feudal relationships and the birth and development of capitalist system.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the cadres of this intelligentsia were recruited largely from the higher sections of the old Bengali feudal society; sons of the zamindars and rich merchants were willing to offer their services at the staff of the East India Company without being weaned from their environment and traditional preoccupations. "Most of these intellectuals came from the stock of landlords and trade bourgeoisie who were dependent on the Company".[19] Among them the Hindus prevailed.[20] Yet, since capitalist system, as it made further progress, was in increasing demand of employees of the so called intelligent professions, ruined petty landowners (usually of the higher Hindu castes), sons of modest merchants, owners of manufactures, etc. came pouring into the ranks of intelligentsia by the middle of the nineteenth century. There were Muslims among

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[18] Plantations (above all tea plantations) were owned by the British capitalists. In 1850, the area cultivated by plantators amounted to 1,876 acres, whereas it reached 284,000 acres in 1885 and 433,000 acres in 1896; Bengal accounted for 24.3 per cent of these areas (above all in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Districts) the rest being in Assam (D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India...*, pp. 55, 88. For more detail see: Г. К. Широков, *Экономическое развитие чайных плантаций в Индии*).

The import of coolies in Assam began in 1853 and reached its climax in the 1911—1921 decade when the number imported exceeded 769,000. According to the 1931 figures, no less than a quarter of all plantation workers (or 257,000 people) were Bengalis, most of whom were natives of the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts, or 186,900 and 60,300 people respectively (K. Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, p. 110).

[19] Н. Кабирадж, *Национально-освободительное движение в Бенгалии*, стр. 58; See also: B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*, p. 104.

[20] Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that "Bengali Hindus thus acquired almost a monopoly in the beginning in the subordinate government service..." (Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 337). W. W. Hunter indicated that in 1871 the British had 1338 seats in Bengal's colonial administration (including all top positions), the Hindus 681 seats and the Muslims only 92 seats, or 4.4 per cent of the total (W. W. Hunter, *Our Indian Musalmans*, p. 169).

them, but the Hindus were still predominant.[21] Many of the active participants of the Bengal national-liberation movement came from the stock of this petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

Thus the outcome of Bengal's colonial subjugation was that the consolidation of the country's population into a bourgeois nation was a crippled and lopsided process. The formation of the major classes and social substrata of the bourgeois nation—bourgeoisie, proletariat and bourgeois intelligentsia—was not concurrent as capitalist system made progress and the classes and estates of the old feudal society became transformed and corroded. The bourgeois intelligentsia and proletariat began to take shape a few decades earlier than the Bengali bourgeoisie arose as a derivative of the non-Bengali (British, as well as Marwari, and partly Gujarati) capital functioning in the country.

As for the Bengali bourgeoisie proper, its growth, as was mentioned above, was stunned artificially by the colonialists. The system of privileged landlord ownership established in the country prevented the accumulations of the local proprietory classes from being invested into the national industry. Separate attempts made by the few well-situated Bengalis to set up a business of their own (in ship repairing, coal mining, silk processing, etc.) were on the whole of minor effect.[22] Furthermore, since (as we have mentioned above) members of the higher Hindu castes were predominant among the zamindars, wealthy merchants and moneylenders, the formation of the Muslim strata of the Bengali bourgeoisie began later and proceeded at a slower pace than that of the Hindu strata.[23]

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[21] Even in 1912 the Muslims accounted for 3.7 per cent of the posts, largely the lower ones in Bengal's top government departments. In the subsequent years the number of Muslim officials showed a steady increase—a process which in the first place arose from the dedication of Muslim Bengalis to European education, their contribution to enterprise activity and the rise of bourgeois intelligensia among them. Still, even in the 1946—1947 term the Muslim Bengalis had only 30 per cent of the posts in Bengal's officialdom (calculated from the statistics adduced in Thaker's *Indian Directory*, 1912, pp. 118—130; *ibid.*, 1946—1947, pp. 26, 27). In the 30's the Muslims accounted for 17,9 per cent of the total number of students enrolled at the medical, commercial, engineering and agricultural colleges (R. Ch. Banerjee, *Hindu and Muslim Public Spirit in Bengal*, pp. 313, 314).

[22] Н. Кабирадж, *Национально-освободительное движение в Бенгалии*, стр. 39—41; Ch. Palit, *Indigenous Business Enterprise in Bengal*.

[23] Even in the Muslim-ridden areas of East Bengal the Hindus possessed in the 30's of the twentieth century about 80 per cent of the urban real estate and rural land estates and the bulk of banking, loaning and export-import operations. This paved the way for the rise and growth of anti-Hindu sentiments, both in the top of the Muslim society and in the Muslim mass. These sentiments were also forstered by the competition for better posts in the administration, trade and other fields of economic activity between the Hindu landlords, bourgeoisie and intelligensia in the van and the Muslim landlords, bourgeoisie and intelligensia in the rear.

Change came only at the close of the nineteenth century, when the development of the internal market made it possible for Bengali proprietory classes—landlords, traders and moneylenders—to consider it more economically sound to switch part of their accumulations into the domain of industrial production. In the beginning of the twentieth century there were in Bengal separate Bengali-owned industrial enterprises.[24] Yet, those were just the first ventures in the field of industrial enterprise at large, and the major way in which the well-to-do Bengalis could contribute to the development of big industry was to buy the British companies' shares. The principal sources from which they drew their incomes were still the feudal and moneylending exploitation of the peasantry (because most of these businessmen were zamindars) and comprador trade. Thus, as long as Bengal was under British colonial rule, neither the differentiation nor the isolation of the Bengali industrial bourgeoisie proper from the trade and moneylending bourgeoisie and landlords was in evidence; what was a significant feature of the time was the combination of a semi-feudal landlord, trader-moneylender and factory owner in one person.

The Bengali bourgeoisie developed in the beginning of the twentieth century chiefly in the field of manufacture-type petty industrial production (the manufacture of cotton and silk textile, shoes, table-ware, soap, food processing, etc.) where the Bengalis, notably those who came from the Hindu trade and moneylending and higher non-land cultivating castes, had gained ground in the setting up of enterprises of their own.[25] It is necessary to note that the rise of the industries whose products were to meet internal consumer demand exercised a definite encouraging influence on the development of Bengal's internal market, and this in turn fortified the economic positions of the nascent bourgeoisie. However, the competition of the British as well as Marwari firms was a serious handicap to the growth of this petty and middle bourgeoisie.[26] A special nuisance to the nascent Bengali national bourgeoisie were the attempts made by the Marwari and Gujarati businessmen, especially in the first decades of the twentieth century, to take hold of Bengal's internal retail trade, moneylending in the villages and small urban communities and to control the handicraft manufacture, in other words, they desired to have under control those fields of enterprise activity upon which the nascent

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[24] In 1911, the British businessmen owned 47 per cent of Bengal's industrial enterprises (and the largest ones into the bargain), the rest being controlled by the Indians, only a part of whom were Bengalis, however (*Census of India*, 1911, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 446).

[25] R. Mukherjee, *The Foundations of Indian Economics*, pp. 364—366.

[26] On the discontent which this competition stirred up among the local businessmen see, for example, Ch. Palit, *Indigenous Business Enterprise in Bengal*, p. 222.

Bengali national bourgeoisie drew for most of their accumulations. As a result, it was virtually impossible for the owners of manufactures to take to factory production and therefore the Bengali big bourgeoisie was arising not from the owners of manufactures but largely from the landlords and representatives of trade and moneylending capital. The peculiarities of the rise and growth of the Bengali bourgeoisie that have been described above had an impact on the bourgeoisie's political vitality, with the result that as early as the close of the nineteenth century it was members of the radically-minded petty bourgeoisie, rather closely connected with the people, that came to the fore in the Bengali national movement.

Although the colonial yoke had a negative effect on the development of capitalism and the formation of the classes and strata of the bourgeoisie society, it could not curb the onset of the Bengalis' national consolidation.

At the dawn of the twentieth century capitalist system became a major and leading form of productive relations in Bengal's socio-economic structure. As for the survived forms basic to the preceding formations, they were falling more and more into the background. A slow but steady efflux of population from the countryside into cities was in evidence and internal migration was gaining momentum: population growth in the industrial areas of the country's west was especially rapid. Calcutta became Bengal's major economic centre and junction of all transport communications. Over the two decades (1891—1911) the city's population jumped from 744,000 to 1,013,000, or by 36.3 per cent. Among factors contributing to the ascendancy of Calcutta were its historic position as the centre of the British administration (not only of Bengal but also of India as a whole, because down to 1911 the city was the capital of the British colonial empire in India) as well as its favourable geographical position as the approach to a densely populated agricultural region which produced a variety of staple exports (jute, rice, indigo, opium).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, some of East Bengal's cities, above all Dacca, began to expand. As export trade in jute made headway, a great many presses for piling this invaluable raw material had to be installed in the vicinity of Dacca. The city's population showed a further increase because Dacca was made the administrative centre of East Bengal and Assam in 1905—1911.[27] When in 1921 a university was opened in Dacca, the city became a major cultural centre of the country's east. Another city which owed its growth to jute export trade was Narayanganj.[28] Chittagong also became a major trade centre.

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[27] D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India...*, p. 165, 168.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

The Bengali national market arose in the beginning of the twentieth century as the farming periphery was gradually involved in trade turnover [29]—a process which was to a large extent facilitated by the development of jute production in the vicinity of Calcutta.

These vital transformations in Bengal's socio-economic structure implied that the definite economic fragmentation and dissociation basic to the feudal nationality was gone, giving way to a community of economic life based on the territorial division of labour within the framework of a single national market which is indispensable for a bourgeois nation.

The radical changes in the Bengali society's economic basis were bound to bring about no less important changes in the superstructure: in culture (fiction and the arts), religious and philosophical outlook, social and legal institutions, etc.

As early as the first decades of the nineteenth century the leading representatives of the nascent Bengali intelligentsia made, partly under the impact of the samples of European science and culture that had reached India, the pioneering efforts on the road of bourgeois enlightenment in Bengal. For all their discordant outlook, which manifested itself vividly in the activity of the first of these enlighteners, Ram Mohan Ray (circa 1772—1833),[30] objectively they made great contribution to the growth of the new bourgeois culture, overcoming the outmoded concepts and institutions of the bygone feudal time. As bourgeois enlighteners, they made thereby the new social relations triumphant ideologically, assisting the bourgeois basis of the Bengali society to come into its own. This was the meaning of their call for freedom of speech, legal reforms, the introduction of the European education system and the abolishment of the restrictions imposed by the colonialists on the Bengalis' enterprising activity.

The far-reaching changes at work in the ideology of the Bengali society are attested in the struggle of the bourgeois enlighteners around Ram Mohan Ray for the reform of Hinduism. They acted along the lines of humanism and bourgeois rationalism in this struggle. Their criticism of the caste system and such barbarious medieval customs as sutteeism, polygamy, etc. was no doubt progressive. Of no less importance were the first modern educational establishments they set up, with a few hundred students in enrollment as early as the 20's of the nineteenth century. In the 30's—40's of the nineteenth century, many of the graduates of these establishments took an active part in the activity of the Young Bengal group which stood in opposition to colonial rule.

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[29] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, pp. 310—311.

[30] For more detail see: Э. Н. Комаров, *Рам Мохан Рай...*, Е. В. Паевская, *Рам Мохан Рай — предшественник буржуазного национального движения в Бенгалии.*

The development of capitalist relations led to more intense ties between Bengal's regions and these ties became more steady and regular. The unity of economic life and the influence of such a big city as Calcutta, which already in the mid-nineteenth century became the country's principal economic as well as cultural centre, helped to erase the dialectal differences and improve the relations between vernacular dialects and literary forms of the Bengali language.

All-nation speech norms evolved as the language of the Bengali feudal nationality grew into the language of the Bengali nation. Gradually these norms diffused (through ousting the local dialects) over the entire territory inhabited by the Bengalis. The normalizing effect of the literary language on the vernacular dialects expanded as the network of modern schools gained more ground. [31] As it matured in the course of development of capitalist relations and the establishment of the bourgeois nation, the Bengali national language in turn exercised an important influence on the processes that had brought it to life, thereby contributing to the triumph of capitalist relations and the national consolidation of the Bengalis. "Unity and unimpeded development of language are the most important conditions for genuinely free and extensive commerce on a scale commensurate with modern capitalism, for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its various classes and, lastly, for the establishment of close connection between the market and each and every proprietor, big or little, and between seller and buyer."[32]

The activity of the first Bengali enlighteners contributed to the rise and development of the universal standards of the Bengali literary language. Fiction and journalism combined to consolidate the emergent all-national speech norms. "The advent and use of the printing press gave a great stimulus to the development of the popular Indian languages",[33] and in particular to the development of the Bengali language.

The gap between the literary language with the dialect of Calcutta as its basis, and the vernacular, grew narrower. Of course, dialectal distinctions in the speech cannot fade away altogether under capitalism. We can state, however, that a single standardized Bengali vernacular clear to Bengal's entire population was in existence in the beginning of the twentieth century. [34]

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, new fiction genres were arising. Bengali prose and journalism came into being, and the first periodicals in Bengali appeared. In 1819 Ram Mohan

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[31] As early as 1881 there were in Bengal about 2,000 European-model secondary schools, with 141,000 students (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 321).

[32] V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, p. 6—7.

[33] Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 335.

[34] G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 222.

Ray and Bhavani Banerjee founded the first Bengali newspaper *Shombad Koumudi*.[35] The Muslims no less than the Hindus pioneered in the publishing field: as early as 1821 the Maulvi Alimullah started publishing the newspaper *Samachar Sabha Rajendra* in Bengali. The rates at which the Bengali periodical press was developing is attested in the fact that a total of 51 newspapers in Bengali were founded between 1819 and 1857.[36]

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the first novels in Bengali appeared, and the first short stories and modern poetry.

The Indian National Uprising (1857—1859), the indigo uprisings in Bengal in 1859—1860, as well as numerous anti-feudal and anti-colonial demonstrations of the Bengali peasantry in the 70's—80's of the nineteenth century, had a far-reaching effect on the formation of modern Bengali fiction and culture. In the creative work of the leading Bengali writers and poets, and above, all in the work of Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941) and Nazrul Islam, who made Bengali literature and culture renowned and popular throughout the world, we find the concepts and ideas of the nascent nation-consciousness of the Bengalis. The same ideas were expressed in the philosophy of Norendronath Dotto (Swami Vivekananda, 1863—1902) who criticized the feudal institutions still in existence in the Bengal of his day from the viewpoints of bourgeois enlightenment and democratic nationalism.

Bengali literature imbibed and evolved the best folk and classic traditions, mirroring all the aspects of the life of the Bengali society and making great contribution to the rise of Bengali national culture and consciousness. In its persistent anti-British and anti-colonial attitudes, the periodical press in Bengali was also of great importance in this respect.[37]

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the new bourgeois trends stirred up the top crust of Bengal's Muslim community as it turned to enterprising activity (in the first place in the field of circulation). Muslim literary societies cropped up, Abdul Latif (1828—1893), one of Bengal's Muslim enlighteners, being a leading figure in their activity. Even though the die-hard feudal traditions and prejudices in Bengal's socio-economic structure, culture and everyday life resulted in that the new bourgeois ideas usually masqueraded as religious reforms, we cannot fail to see their objective national, anti-feudal and anti-colonial content.

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, vital

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[35] Gangadhar Bhattacharyya started *Bengal Gazette* somewhat earlier, but the newspaper appeared in English.

[36] For more detail see: D. Ch. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 909—912; A. F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal*, pp. 79—99.

[37] I. P. Minaev pointed out in 1886 that "the Bengali native newspapers... were all inimical to the government" (И. П. Минаев, *Дневники путешествий в Индию и Бирму*, стр. 113). See also: V. Lovett, *A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement*, pp. 21—22.

changes took place in other domains of Bengali culture as well. Modern painting and sculpture were on the move.

As their national consolidation was in progress, the Bengalis assimilated minor Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic nationalities and separate ethnic groups inhabiting mainly the fringes of the country.[38]

Relative agrarian over-population brought about a mass migration of peasants from East Bengal into the neighbouring areas of Assam in the beginning of the twentieth century. Besides plantation workers, there lived in Assam 159,000 natives of Bengal in 1911; this figure rose to 348,000 in 1921—and to 575,000 in 1931. This entailed a sharp increase in the Bengali population of Assam, above all in the south-western areas. Since most of East Bengal's peasants professed Islam and the Muslims were predominant (up to 85 per cent) among the Bengalis migrated into Assam, we also find a sharp increase in the numbers of Muslims in this province.[39]

The development of capitalist mode of production in Bengal and the consolidation of the population into the Bengali bourgeois nation were paralled with the mass national-liberation movement, on the whole of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal nature.

Since a special work[40] is devoted to the study of the history and peculiarities of the national movement of the Bengalis and other Pakistani peoples we shall not discuss these matters here. One important consideration is worth mentioning, however.

The national-liberation movements of the subcontinent's peoples were movements of the nascent nations. It is precisely for this reason that one of their most cherished goals was to smash those obstacles which the British colonialists and their henchmen throughout the subcontinent had put in the way towards national consolidation.

As national consolidation was not yet complete, however, feudal concepts and prejudices tended to handicap the peoples who took the way of liberation struggle. Besides weakening the national-liberation movement, this allowed the colonialists to take advantage of the feudal prejudices to cleave the liberation forces.

Another factor that helped the colonialists to put their policy of cleavage in practice was that the nascent bourgeoisie at the head of the national movements was intimately connectied with the landlords and the British capitalists (and this ambiguity made its political line inconsistent) and split into a number of conflicting fractions and groupings.

The national-liberation movements of the subcontinent's peoples gained momentum as they overcame these objective difficulties, mastered anti-feudal and anti-colonial forces and got rid

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[38] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, pp. 295—296.

[39] K Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, pp. 118—119.

[40] Ю. Б. Ганковский, *Национальный вопрос и национальные движения в Пакистане.*

of the ideological notions ancestral to the feudal era. The liberation movement contributed to the formation of national consciousness and thereby completed the consolidation of the subcontinent's peoples into bourgeois nations.

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Sind and the Punjab (to the west of the Sutlej) were overrun by the East India Company in 1843 and 1845—1849 respectively, i. e., nearly ninety years later than Bengal.

The aftermath of the British conquest was that the Punjab (and Sind) was gradually converted into an agrarian appendix of the metropolis and incorporated into the system of the world capitalist market. The conquest stimulated the production of export agricultural crops and involved the creation of some material prerequisites of capitalist production (the construction of railways, ports, etc.). Devastated in a less degree than Bengal, the north-western areas of the subcontinent [41] offered more opportunities for extensive reproduction in agriculture, the principal field of the country's economy. As the productive forces made a slow but steady progress and the out-of-date feudal relations underwent progressive decomposition, objective opportunities arose for the society to embark upon a new, higher social formation—capitalism and at the same time to form a new historical type of ethnic community—a bourgeois nation. But, as was the case in other parts of British India, the colonial domination curbed the comprehensive development of these processes, shaping them in a distorted and lopsided pattern.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the methods of the country's exploitation basic to the time of primary accumulation fell gradually into the background. For this reason, the interference of the colonial authorities into the socio-economic life of the north-western part of the subcontinent was more tricky and less harsh than it was in the north-east, though the goals were the same: the north-western areas were to be converted into a supplier of colonial tribute, a market for British goods and a source of raw materials for the British industry. The frontier position of the Punjab affected no doubt the policy of the metropolis. Further, the colonial authorities made allowances for the virility of the indigenous population's traditions to rise up in arms against suppressors and invaders.

The British policy towards the Punjab (as well as towards Sind) passed through a series of stages. During the first years after the invasion the authorities cared above all to consolidate their rule over the annexed territories, turn them into a footing

[41] In the third quarter of the nineteenth century the Punjab's agriculture yielded 40 per cent more produce per capita in terms of cost than that of Bengal.

for further expansion into Afghanistan, Iran and Middle Asia, while in the 70's—80's the attempts to turn this part of the subcontinent into an agrarian appendix of the metropolis became predominant. Therefore, the colonial authorities had this goal in mind when shaping the economic development of the Punjab and Sind: they curbed the growth of capitalist relations, perpetuating feudal survivals in socio-economic structure of these areas and supporting those local exploitating strata which were rooted in the out-of-date pre-capitalist system, because it is these strata (semi-feudal landlords and moneylenders) that were the major social stronghold of British rule.

In their efforts to strengthen their dominance over the north-west of the subcontinent by creating social groupings intimately connected with this dominance and the material foundations of welfare dependent upon the preservation of it, the colonial authorities did not annex all the territories they had conquered, but kept intact more than forty feudal principalities (the largest of them being Patiala and Bahawalpur in the Punjab and Khairpur in Sind) and made their rulers Britain's vassals. Thereby the sanctuaries of feudal oppression were left to handicap seriously the social progress of the Punjab and Sind as well as the state-administrative and economic cohesion of the territory in which the Punjabi and Sindhi nations were taking shape. [42]

The same were the objectives when the colonial authorities were implementing their land-tax reforms. These were to consolidate feudal landlord ownership and create a cohort of land owners who would owe their existence to colonial rule. [43] Moreover, the reforms contributed to the consolidation of landlords as a class, converting them into a major stronghold of British rule and at the same time raising to a certain extent the output of landlord estates, which stood in good stead the British exporters of the farming produce of the Punjab and Sind.

The land-tax reforms introduced tallage in money. Yet, although the British authorities (for fear of antagonizing the local peasantry and for the needs of the fisc) acknowledged the proprietory rights of the full-fledged commoners in the Punjab and gave a status of estate under protection to the top tenants, the back-

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[42] In 1947 the principalities accounted for approximately 27 per cent of the entire territory of the Punjab and Sind (48,500 sq. miles out of 182,000 sq. miles), 15.4 per cent of the subcontinent's population (about 5,000,000 out of 32,400,000) living there.

[43] The Pakistani scholars point out that "this (awarding proprietary right in the lands) was done either in ignorance of the conditions in this part of the world and following the established system of landlordism in Great Britain, or it was done deliberately to create a new class of people on whose loyalty British power in India could depend"; not a single family of big landlords is able to trace the descent of their proprietory rights to the period prior to 1857 (i. e., prior to the Indian National Uprising) and few can claim that they have acquired their rights not through the mercy of the British (S. M. Akhtar, *Economics of Pakistan*, pp. 92—93).

log of the Punjabi rayats [44] and, as a corollary, land mortgage were making dramatic progress. The property differentiation of the peasantry was growing. Part of the peasantry was losing their plots, which passed into the hands of the village well-off as well as landlords and moneylenders. [45]

As capitalist relations were in their infancy, however, the landless peasants did not become proletarians, but had to join the means of production again, this time under worse terms as tenant farmers. [46] Consequently, the Punjab's agrarian structure remained essentially the same, and the existing premises for transition to capitalist production in agriculture were not realized to a large extent. The result was chronic agrarian overpopulation—a condition under which much of the ruined peasantry were "...constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat and on the look-out for circumstances favourable to this transformation". [47]

The infancy of capitalist relations made the purchasing of land a more profitable and reliable form of investment for the proprietory top crust in the colonial Punjab. A new stratum of landlord thus began to arise, comprising the former moneylenders who turned into landlordship through buying the land of the ruined peasantry, as well as of some of the jagirdars and zamindars. Since most of these moneylenders belonged to the Hindu trade-moneylending castes [48] it became possible (especially in the western part of the Punjab), in the same way as it happened in Bengal at an earlier date, to contrast different groups of the population according to their religious and communal characteristics.

The concentration of land property in the hands of the wealthy landowners led to the emergence of absentee landlords who

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[44] By 1925 the Punjab's agricultural debt was 19 times as much as the total land revenue due to the government and was estimated at 900,000,000 rupees (or 76 rupees per land cultivator); by 1931 the debt rose 50 per cent and reached 1,350,000,000 rupees (or 92 rupees per land cultivator—the highest rate in India). See: S. M. Akhtar, *Economics of Pakistan*, pp. 132—133.

[45] During 1866—1891 the annual acreage on sale in the Punjab rose four times and reached 135,000 acres. According to the official statistics, during the 1891—1921 period alone 420,000 peasant owners or 11.6 per cent of the total were expropriated in the Punjab. Fore more detail see: (III.), *Аграрный вопрос в Пенджабе*, стр. 28—29.

[46] In the 30's of the twentieth century the tenants cultivated 62,7 per cent of all land in the Punjab; the bulk of these being tenants-at-will, i. e. those who held no right on the lands they cultivated (S. M. Akhtar, *Economics of Pakistan*, pp. 73—81). For a thorough analysis of the Punjabi peasants' deprivation of land and their conversion into rightless tenants see: В. Г. Растянников, *Наемный труд в сельском хозяйстве Пенджаба*, стр. 213—227.

[47] K. Marx, Capital, Vol. I, p. 642.

[48] See, for example, S. S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab*, pp. 18—19.

lived in clover in town or in their estates; their main preoccupation was political adventures and intrigues against their enemies and the exploitation of the tenants. These absentee landlords were on the whole little interested in the development of their estates along the capitalist lines; the social and economic atmosphere created by the colonial authorities in the Punjab made it possible for the landlords to extract huge profits through the methods of feudal exploitation of the tenants, supplemented by moneylending bondage. [49]

Thus the colonial yoke interfered with the development of capitalist relations in the Punjab's agriculture and in this way hindered the transient stages of this development, perpetuating the intermediate forms and thereby arresting the formation of bourgeois-society classes out of that portion of the population that was connected with agricultural production. In this way the colonial yoke also arrested the consolidation of the Punjabis into a bourgeois nation.

An appreciable impetus to the development of capitalist relations in the Punjab at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries came from extensive irrigation work undertaken by the colonial authorities in order to boost the production of export-oriented farming produce. Between 1887 and 1921, the irrigation acreage in the Punjab rose from 2,300,000 to 10,000,000 acres or by more than 400 per cent. [50] The production and export of certain farming crops (in the first place cotton and wheat) jumped accordingly. [51]

Channel construction was accompanied by the agricultural colonization of the irrigated lands and this resulted in more intense internal migration; the migration gained especially high momentum after the First World War, when during the 1921—1931 period the population round Montgomery rose 45.8 per cent, that round Multan 31.1 per cent and that round Bahawalpur 26 per cent. [52]

The construction of railways linking the Arabian coast area and heart of the north-western part of the subcontinent, [53] as well as the expansion of export trade stimulated the growth of cities situated at the railway junctions: Multan, Lahore, Mont-

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[49] How much was that profit, we can judge from the fact that the share of the yield a tenant had to pay to the landlord was sometimes as high al 90 per cent (S. M. Akhtar, *Economics of Pakistan*, p. 79). For more detail see: В. Г. Растянников, *О формах феодальной эксплуатации...*, стр. 28—38.

[50] *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 38.

[51] D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India...*, pp. 176—177.

[52] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, p. 280; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 117; *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. V, pp. 38—39, 42—43; K. Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, p. 120.

[53] The Karachi-Hyderabad railway was constructed in the 50's of the nineteenth century; the Amritsar-Lahore-Multan line was commissioned in the 60's and extended to Hyderabad in 1878. In 1882, the Lahore-Peshawar railway was opened for traffic. In 1891, the Rohri-Quetta railway via Jacobabad-Sibi began operating.

gomery, Campbellpur, etc. [54] City growth led to higher food demand, which entailed the expansion of suburbian trade economy: fruit and vegetable growing, and dairy farming. [55]

More farming areas of the Punjab became involved in trade, public labour division grew and commodity-money relations made deeper inroads into the village. As an official report stated in 1911, "Almost every railway station is a centre for export. Grain, cotton, etc. are drawn to these stations from the adjoining tracts, and the agents of exporting firms arrange to buy the produce as it reaches there". [56]

More agricultural areas became specialized in definite kinds of produce and territorial labour division established itself. Thus the channel areas in the south-west of the Punjab were specialized mainly in the growing of wheat and cotton; Gujrat, Montgomery, Attok, Jhelum and Rawalpindi emerged as areas of extensive commercial stock breeding; Ambala, Hansi and Simla were growing vegetables and fruit for commercial market.

The progress of public labour division and commodity relations widened the intermediary functions of the local trading and moneylending capital whose representatives acted as agents and middleman of the big British exporting firms and in this rendered assistance to the colonialists and exploitators of the Punjabi village. Increasingly more members of the trade and moneylending castes of Gujarat and Marwar began to take root in the Punjab. [57] The growth of the local and Gujarati-Marawari trading and moneylending bourgeoisie is shown by the fact that during the 1868—1911 period the number of bankers and moneylenders (including their families) in the Punjab rose from 53,263 to 193,890 (a 364-per cent increase over 43 years!). [58]

The Punjab's industrial production, on the other hand, developed but little. In the beginning of the twentieth century there were some odd 200 small-scale industrial enterprises employing about 30,000 workers. Even on the eve of the Second World War,

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[54] Lahore's population rose 188 per cent in 1881—1931 and reached 430,000 in 1931; the population of Montgomery and Cambellpur increased during the same years 723 and 697 per cent respectively (W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 552; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, p. 281; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, pp. 93—94).

[55] For more detail see: В. Г. Растянников, *Очерк развития торгового огородничества и садоводства...*, стр. 9—24.

[56] "Punjab Census Report (1911)" from D. R. Cadgil's *The Industrial Evolution of India...*, p. 167.

[57] W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, pp. 110—112. Most of the Punjabi moneylenders came from the Hindu trade and moneylending castes; Arora (dominant in the western part of the province), Khatri (dominant in the central part of the Punjab) and Agarwal. They monopolized the Punjab's internal trade and controlled trade with Afghanistan; many of the state servicemen were recruited from their families (D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, p. 247).

[58] S. M. Akhtar, *Economics of Pakistan*, p. 131.

in 1939, there were just 800 small-scale industrial enterprises with a total of 78,000 workers in the Punjab; a third of enterprises was of seasonal nature and operated a few months a year. [59] Under the circumstances of colonial enslavement the local proprietory classes had no adequate incentive to transfer their accumulations into the field of industrial production, considering it much sounder to invest in land and comprador activity. As for the colonial authorities and British entrepreneurs, they stimulated the development of only those branches of the Punjab's economy whose progress tended to secure the province's status as an agrarian annex of Great Britain. [60]

The outcome of colonial rule was that capitalist relations in different parts of the subcontinent developed ununiformly, and that the north-west was lagging far behind Bengal (as well as Bombay) in the beginning of the twentieth century, gradually becoming agrarian backwoods. The local capitalist enterprises functioned in the lowest possible forms, and modern industry (except for the state-owned railway shops in Lahore and other cities) was virtually non-existent.

The peculiarities of the Punjab's capitalist development exercised an immediate influence on the ethnic processes at work there: on the formation of the Punjabi bourgeois nation that began at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

While the consolidation of proletariat and bourgeois intelligentsia in Bengal began a few decades earlier than that of the Bengali bourgeoisie, no gap of this was in evidence in the Punjab (like in Sind). The major classes and social strata of bourgeois society in the Punjab began to take shape concurrently (though on the whole later than in Bengal) in the end of the nineteenth century.

The reason is that in Bengal, as we have mentioned above, the proletariat and bourgeois intelligentsia began taking shape as a derivative of the overseas capital operating in the country long before members of the local proprietory classes attached to the pre-capitalist economic system were able to start capitalist enterprising of their own during which they would become bourgeoisie. The part the British capital played in arranging and setting up capitalist enterprises (especially in the field of industrial production) in the Punjab in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries was negligible, [61] and for this reason the for-

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[59] A. A. Anwar, *Effects of Partition of Industries...*, p. 5.

[60] Thus, there were six enterprises for cleaning and compressing cotton in the Punjab in 1881, whereas in 1891 there were 12, and in 1904, 114. However, most of their produce was exported overseas (or into other provinces of British India) (see: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, p. 319).

[61] According to the 1911 Census, the British capital controlled only 13.5 per cent of all registered industrial enterprises in the Punjab (or 28 out of 207), most of which were railway shops (*Census of India, 1911*, Vol. I,

mation of the classes of bourgeois society proceeded there hand in hand with the establishment and development of local capitalist production.

This process, however, was very slow as long as imperialist rule was there, and not all aspects of it were complete in the colonial time.

It is mainly the lower forms of capitalist enterprising that matured in the Punjab in the colonial time: most of the industries did not grow beyond the home-work stage. The capitalist *par excellence* was a rarity. Among the sponsors of capitalist enterprises were, as a rule, landlords, traders and moneylenders, who could not quit their former preoccupation because, as long as colonial rule was in power and bourgeois relations were on the whole in their infancy, they were thus able, through semifeudal exploitation and moneylending bondage, to extract huge profits and acquire not only the whole surplus produce but indeed much of the necessary produce. They considered it profitable, as we have already mentioned, to invest in the field of circulation or in the purchase of land-estates. As for activity in the field of industrial production, they regarded it, especially in the beginning, as nothing but a subsidiary to their traditional preoccupations.

For this reason, the industries that were making progress in the Punjab were, in the main, processing of agricultural produce: the cleaning of cotton and rice, the production of oil, ghee (clarified butter), gur (local low-grade sugar) and flour. Also, there were a number of enterprises manufacturing tools and construction material. [62] Many of these enterprises were of seasonal pattern. Handicrafts designed to cater for the local consumer (tableware, furniture, carpets, textile, ornaments, shoes, etc.) were also on the move, even though Punjabi handicraft on the whole suffered a great deal from the competition of British factory-made articles.

The establishment of capitalist relations in agriculture resulted in that a bourgeois stratum was gradually coming into its own in this realm as well. Since the process was exceedingly slow, however, with prolonged intermediate and transiet phases, the farming bourgeoisie *par excellence* was also non-existent. In the West Punjab, where we see irrigated lands, the formation of farming bourgeoisie out of the well-off peasantry was gaining somewhat more ground. [63]

Pt. 1, p. 446). As has been mentioned above, the British controlled 447 (and the biggest ones) of 947 enterprises and all jute factories in Bengal in 1911.

[62] A. Nafis Ahmad, *The Basis of Pakistan*, pp. 149—150.

[63] For a study of this process see: В. Г. Растянников, *Наемный труд в сельском хозяйстве Пенджаба*, стр. 227—239.

On the whole, the nascent Punjabi bourgeoisie was not numerous and retained (sometimes in the form of a personal union) intimate relations with the semi-feudal landlords, traders and moneylenders, from whose stock most of them had arisen.

It should be noted that in the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries the Punjabi bourgeoisie arose largely from the local landlords, either Hindus or offspring of the Hindu castes of traders and moneylenders, while in the Central Punjab these were members of the proprietory top crust of the Sikh community.[64] The Muslim stratum was not numerous and weak, which is attested, for example, in the fact that in the 80's of the nineteenth century the Hindus were predominent in the city (about 67 per cent of the population) even in the West Punjab where the Muslims accouted for 92 per cent of the rural population.[65]

The Muslims of the Punjab turned to enterprising activity later than the Hindus. In the beginning of the twentieth century the Muslim entrepreneurs could be counted on the fingers of one's hand. In the following decades the wealthy Muslim Punjabi landlords preferred to invest above all in the field of circulation: intermediary trade, banking and moneylending. It is only during the Second World War when a favourable economic situation arose in the Punjab[66] that members of the proprietory top of the Muslim community took an active part in enterprising activity also in the field of industrial production. This circumstance contributed to the more fierce competition for "a place under the sun" between different sections of the nascent bourgeois class.

The inculcation of businessmen from Bombay, Gujarat and Rajasthan (besides the above-mentioned factors) handicapped the growth of the Punjabi bourgeoisie. In their efforts to have the

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[64] A typical representative of this bourgeoisie was the businessman Lala Ram Sarn Das, who came from an old aristocratic family which had, through many generations, amassed a huge fortune thanks to the exploitation of the local peasantry. In the 20's Lala Ram was one of the Punjab's leading entrepreneurs, possessing several factories in Lahore and other cities, and being one of the directors of the Imperial Bank of India and the manager of several insurance companies. The paid-up capital of only one of his factories (Mela Ram Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Lahore) amounted to 1,500,000 rupees. A wealthy landlord, Sardar Ujjal Singh, became the owner of several industrial enterprises. R. N. Virmani, who came from a family of traders and moneylenders, became a big financier, manager of insurance companies, President of the Punjabi Commerce Bank Ltd., etc. in the 30's. The list of such examples can be multiplied (*The Indian Year Book, 1943—1944*, pp. 1074—1075, 1077, 1230; A. A. Anwar, *Effects of Partition on Industries...*, p. 19).

[65] S. S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab*, p. 18.

[66] During the Second World War the number of the Punjab's industrial enterprises rose from 800 to 1,255, and the number of workers employed from 78,000 to 158,000. Nearly 60 per cent of these factories were located in the western, i. e. thoroughly Muslim-ridden, areas of the Punjab (A. A. Anwar, *Effects of Partition on Industries...*, pp. 5—6; 10).

upper hand in the Punjab's financial-loaning and banking business, as well as in export trade and the internal market, these businessmen stroke on a grand scale. The extent to which they dominated the province's economy is shown by the fact that in the early 80's of the nineteenth century they were fewer than 30,000 traders and moneylenders—Khojas—in the West Punjab; two decades later this figure rose to nearly 100,000 largely due to the migration from Gujarat. [67] Another band of businessmen active in the Punjab included Gujarati merchants and moneylenders from the Bohra caste and Rajasthani merchants and moneylenders from the Bhatia caste.

The circumstances in which the formation of the other major class of bourgeois society—the Punjabi proletariat—took place were no less complex. The die-hard estate concepts and caste institutions stood in the way to the free and wide grouping of population into separate classes—a process basic to capitalism—and thereby to the consolidation of the Punjabis into a bourgeois nation.

Because of the adverse working conditions and exceedingly low payment, the rise of rank-and-file proletarians was very slow. The stratum of industrial proletariat was not numerous, and the bulk of urban workers retained deep-rooted relations with the village where their families lived. [68] Like in Bengal, it is natives of other parts of the subcontinent: Hindustan, the North-Western Frontier Province, and Baluchistan, and not local workers, who predominated in the Punjab among the workers employed in industry, railways and at the ports, as well as in construction. On the other hand, Punjabi rank-and-file proletarians took shape also beyond the frontiers of the Punjab, above all in Bombay, where large numbers of seasonal workers would come. [69]

The most numerous body of proletarians were farming workers, who amounted to over 350,000 in the beginning of the twentieth century.

The most harsh forms of capitalist exploitation of the working class, that were largely confined to the production of the absolute surplus value, being predominant in the Punjab (and in other areas of the subcontinent) the workers were doomed to starvation and poverty and thereby a threat was made to their reproduction, and the consolidation of hired workers into a class of proletarians was arrested.

The emergence of the Punjabi bourgeois intelligentsia was also somewhat slower than in Bengal—a process which stemmed

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[67] S. S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab*, p. 19; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, p. 288.

[68] After the Second World War, a similar situation was still in evidence in the Punjab. See, for example, Z. Eglar, *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan*, p. 13.

[69] *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, p. 74.

from the over-all low level of capitalist development in the Punjab. In their efforts to produce state officials loyal to the British authorities, as well as free profession members, etc. from the natives, the colonialists opened several educational establishments of European type in the Punjab (The Oriental College in Lahore in 1870, the University of the Punjab in Lahore in 1882, etc).

Christian missionaries got into their stride in the north-west of the subcontinent. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century they published a Punjabi translation of the *New Testament*—the first Punjabi book in print.[70] The first Punjabi bourgeois intelligentsia coming from proprietory stock were educated at the schools set up by the missionaries and colonial authorities. It is only in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries that well-off peasants, petty entrepreneurs and traders came to reinforce the army of Punjabi intelligentsia. Most of them were Sikhs and Hindus as far as religion is concerned, but a small Muslim stratum was also in existence. Many of these intelligents later took an active part in anti-British propaganda and anti-imperialist fighting.

The study of the major aspects of the Punjab's socio-economic and cultural history in the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries shows that the establishment and development of capitalist relations were well under way in this part of the subcontinent. Territorial labour division between different areas specialized in definite commercial produces emerged. The Punjabi national market was on the move. Migration within the areas inhabited by the Punjabis gained momentum. City growth was in evidence. Lahore, Multan and Sialkot were turning into major political-administrative, economic and cultural centres of the Punjab. Changes also were in progress in the ideology and culture of the Punjabi society in that time—a process which is associated with certain transformations in the country's social, class structure, namely with the formation of the major classes and social strata of bourgeois society: bourgeoisie, proletariat and bourgeois intelligentsia. The Punjabi national language was arising. The Punjabis were assimilating various alien elements and small ethnic groups (Baluchis, Rajasthanis, Iranians, etc.),[71] One of the indicators of this process is the spread of Punjabi as a predominant speech, ousting gradually the

[70] A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India*, p. 66.

[71] A case in point is that in 1911, 70,600 Baluchis speaking their mother tongue lived in the Punjab; in 1951 their number fell to 4,700 (J. Douie, *The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, pp. 111—112; *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. I, Table 7—A, p. 7—6, 7—7). Since no migration of Baluchies from the Punjab was in evidence during these years, the drop in the numbers of the Baluchi speakers points to their assimilation by the Punjabis.

vernaculars and dialects of different isolated ethnic groups formerly in use over the territory of the Punjab.

One of the distinctive features of the nascent Punjabi nation was that, as long as capitalist relations were on the whole in their infancy, the feudal survivals and religious ideologies were virile and the difference in socio-economic development from region to region was substantial in the Punjab, the emergent national language norm (as the literary language) could not cover rapidly enough the entire Punjabi society and all forms of literature and culture. For this reason, Hindustani, and to a certain extent even Farsi, were still in use and developed as literary languages side by side with Punjabi, and besides there were by far more books published in Hindustani than those published in Punjabi. [72]

Urdu, one of the literary forms of Hindustani, gained special ground in the Punjab. In 1931, there were 4.5 times more of those literate in Urdu than those literate in Punjabi: 908,000 against 198,000. [73] For this reason, many periodicals, like *Oriental College Magazine*, were available in the 20's—30's in Urdu and Punjabi versions.

There is a number of factors to account for this. One of them is brought to light in the works of A. M. Dyakov: after the Punjab fell to British rule, Urdu was introduced as an official language at government schools in this part of the subcontinent. [74] Another factor was that from the 70's of the nineteenth century onward the leaders from Aligarh and their associates promoted vigorously Urdu among the Muslim section of the Punjab's population (i. e., among the bulk of the population). [75] Members of the Muslim section of the Punjabi proprietory classes and the nascent intelligentsia were educated in Urdu at the Aligarh College, which was highly popular among them.

However, the circumstance which contributed equally well to the diffusion of Urdu among the Punjab's population was that

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[72] Between 1875 and 1880 there were 3274 books published in Hindustani (2529 in Urdu and 745 in Hindi), or 58.4 per cent of all books in print in the Punjab; 784 books (or 14 per cent) were published in Punjabi and 300 books (or 6.8 per cent) in Farsi (D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography*, p. 160). Much the same proportion between the books published in Hindustani (mainly in Urdu) and those published in Punjabi we find in the subsequent years. In 1931, 64 per cent of all the Punjab's newspapers (375 out of 579) were published in Urdu (*Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. V, p. 103).

[73] *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 260.

[74] See, for example, A. M. Дьяков, *К вопросу о национальном составе населения Индии*, стр. 327—328; *Национальный вопрос и английский империализм в Индии*, стр. 124.

[75] In 1881—1911, the Muslims accounted for 51 per cent of the Punjab's population, the Hindus for about 36 per cent and the Sinkhs for about 12 per cent, the percentage of the Muslims among the Punjabi speakers even higher because Hindustani or Rajasthani was the mother tongue for many Hindus (see: J. Douie, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, pp. 111—114).

the peoples of the Punjab and Hindustan fought shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy: the British colonialists, and that Hindustan exercised a considerable influence on the socio-political life of the Punjab. Given this, the literary form of Hindustani—Urdu—began to act as one of the literary languages of the nascent Punjabi nation, the affiliation of Urdu and Punjabi being a leading factor in this respect. [76] The necessity and logic of the national-liberation movement led to that many of the prominent Punjabi public-political leaders, thinkers, poets and writers (Muhammad Iqbal, Hafiz Jalandhari, Krishen Chandar and others) wrote in Urdu.

Despite these peculiarities and objective difficulties of the development of Punjabi, it is possible to state that in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries the formation of the Punjabi national language based on the dialect of the Lahore-Amritsar region was in progress. The distinctions between the literary language and vernacular dialects gradually faded away—a process which was facilitated a great deal by the creative work of the Sikh Punjabi writers who tried to compose in the language which the mass spoke. [77] For all distinctions still in the speech, the result was that all the dialects of Punjabi are now conceived as a single language.

The changes in the economic basis and social structure of the Punjabi society in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries also had an effect on the superstructure processes. Certain ideological transformations were in evidence. Interest in the historical past of the Punjab was evoked, arising from the general upheaval of patriotic and anti-colonial sentiment in the progressive circles of the society. The first societies, to study the country's history and literature cropped up.

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries we see the birth of modern Punjabi literature. Although its development was handicapped by the Punjab's general culture backwardness, the illiteracy of the bulk of the population and the religious and caste distinctions, a total of 784 books in Punjabi came out between 1875 and 1880. [78]

It is worthwhile to note that the Hindus and Muslims no less than the Sikhs used Punjabi as a literary language. Many of the Muslim Punjabis wrote and published books in their mother

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[76] Of some interest in this respect is the perennial controversy as to what dialect (or dialects) constitutes the matrix of Urdu: Khari boli (one of the territorial dialects of the vicinity of Delhi belonging to the group of dialects of western Hindi) or the Lahori (Majhi) dialect of Punjabi. See for more detail: A. Bausani, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, pp. 101—102, 240.

[77] L. Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets...*, p. X.

[78] D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography*, p. 160.

tongue, dealing with purely religious, Islamic subjects.[79] And there was no direct correspondence between the religious status of the author and the type in which his book was set. Although it is quite natural that the Gurmukhi alphabet appealed to the literate Sikhs, as much as the Devanagari alphabet to the Hindus and the Arabic alphabet to the Muslims, even the Sikhs published their books written in Punjabi in the Arabic hand.[80] Evidently, the technical facilities of a printing shop, etc. and not religious considerations were of primary importance in choosing the type. This indicates that the religious and communal intolerance which became so acute and morbid, due to the policy of the British colonialists and their voluntary and involuntary henchmen recruited from the local right leaders, in the contemporary history of the Punjab did not play a special role in the formation of modern Punjabi literature in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, modern genres as novel, story and short-story gained more ground in Punjabi literature. Punjabi drama appeared in the 1920's. Journalism came into being as a result of the progress of periodical press in Punjabi. New themes began to bulk large in fiction, and the poets, writers and playwrites turned to their surrounding life. Many of them denounced public ills and social injustice, exposing the colonial oppressors and calling on the Punjabi people to fight for independence. From the 1920's onward the Punjabi writers began to enunciate the ideas of socialism. The first clubs of Punjabi writers were cropping up.[81]

Apart from fiction, works on architecture and arts, history and linguistics, philosophy and economics, as well as geography, medicine, law, warfare, education, etc. are written and published in Punjabi. We find the authors among all religious communities of the Punjab: Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus and Christians. Thus, as the Punjabi nation was taking shape, Punjabi made deep inroads into all domains of the country's political, economic and cultural life, ousting little by little the other literary languages. This trend, however, did not gain much ground till 1947.

There is no doubt that till the close of the colonial period the Punjabis lagged behind the Bengalis in the development of capitalist relations and the formation of a united national market. In addition to the administrative fragmentation of the territory, the perpetuation of the survivals of clan organization in certain backward areas, and some differences in religion, cul-

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[79] For a list of over 130 such works see L. D. Barnett's *Punjabi Printed Books in the British Museum...*, p. 118—120.

[80] Mohan Singh, *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature*, p. 109.

[81] For more detail see: A. Bausani, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, p. 274; Mohan Singh, *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature*, pp. 170—216; (I. Serebryakov, *Punjabi Literature*, pp. 64—86).

ture and way of life fostered by the colonial authorities, and the low level of education made difficult the Punjabi national consolidation.

The Punjabi bourgeois nation not only emerged later but also developed slower than the Bengali nation.

* * *

The peculiarity of Sind's socio-economic development during the colonial era determined, in large measure, the specifics of the formation of the Sindhi bourgeois nation. As this part of the subcontinent became an agrarian appendage of the metropolis (as the case in the other areas) this stimulated the development of the export-oriented branches of farming production and commodity-money relations. Certain areas came to be specialized in the production of definite kinds of produce. Landlord ownership took more root. Since community in Sind fell to pieces, as we have mentioned above, already in the pre-colonial period, the local peasantry was going landless at a much faster rate than in the neighbouring Punjab. Nearly 80 per cent of all land in Sind were cultivated by tenants-at-will in the beginning of the twentieth century.

The exploitation of Sind by the British imperialists contributed to the growth of trade and moneylending capital, whose representatives acted as agents of the British firms and usually controlled the export of farming produce. As a result, many of the landowners (peasants as well as low-level landlords) found themselves entangled in moneylenders' loans, losing their estates: moneylenders possessed over 42 per cent of all arable land in Sind in the early twentieth century. [82]

Railway construction and extensive irrigation work in Northern Sind, as well as the progress of export and internal trade, contributed to the growth of cities, in the first place Karachi, [83] which became Sind's largest economic, administrative and cultural centre, and also Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Sukkur, etc. [84] Mig-

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[82] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, p. 413, sq. For more detail see: С. А. Кузьмин, *Аграрные отношения в Синде*, стр. 130—132.

[83] In the decade (1847/48—1856/57) the turnover of the port of Karachi rose from 4,400,000 to 14,200,000 rupees, import showing a 2.4-fold increase and export a 4.7-fold increase over these years. During the following six years, trade expanded (almost exclusively on account of export) 28 times (!) and, after a fall-off, continued to expand steadily. Cities and population grew accordingly: on the eve of the British conquest Karachi's population was just 14,000, whereas in 1881 it reached the 68,000 mark. In 1891 the city's population was nearly 100,000 (D. Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, pp. 10—11; W. P. Andrew, *The Indus and Its Provinces*, pp. 47, 62).

[84] Sind's urban population between 1881 and 1931 rose from 10.3 to 17.4 per cent of the country's total population. In 1941, the urban population accounted for 18.9 per cent and reached 914,000 people. For more detail see S. P. Chablani, *Economic Conditions in Sind...*, p. 125.

ration gained momentum. The economic fragmentation and seclusion of some self-sufficient areas was drawing to a close. As public and territorial labour division gained more ground, the community of economic life basic to the capitalist formation was arising.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century the major classes and social strata of bourgeois society began to take shape in Sind. The bulk of the local bourgeoisie was genetically related to the Hindu castes Lohana, Khatri, Sahta, Chhapru, and others. The obstacles which the British authorities used to put in the way of capitalist enterprising in Sind resulted in that the Sindhi bourgeoisie was evolving beyond the frontiers of the province and even beyond the frontiers of India. Pohumal was the first to set up a business in Egypt; the Sindhi Vasiamal pioneered in Sindh enterprising in Malaya. "Huge profits and prosperity enjoyed by them attracted many a merchant from Hyderabad, Shikarpur and other places to venture in various parts of the globe... Whatever the part of the world may be, the Sindhi firms employed managers, partners, clerks and even ordinary servants from among Sind Hindus who were recruited from the entire Sind". [85]

Another factor hindering the development of the Sindhi bourgeoisie was the competition of businessmen native to Bombay, Gujarat and Rajasthan. In Sind "...the intrusive element had most of the trade and industry...". [86]

The country's colonial status had a negative effect on the formation of the Sindhi proletariat as well. In the beginning of the twentieth century there were just 40 small industrial enterprises employing about 80,000 workes in Sind. [87] Of these, 75 per cent were engaged in cleaning and compressing cotton, i. e. catered for the export requirements of the British firms.

Relative agrarian over-population being rather acute in Sind, the employers could freeze the wages of proletarians at a level much below labour costs. [88] This offered the owners of the industrial enterprises an extra source of profit and at the same time made the formation of rank-and-file proletarians exceedingly difficult Deep-rooted caste prejudices were another factor in this respect.

The rise of Sindhi bourgeois intelligentsia was also a very slow process. The stock from which most of them came were landlords who lost their estates because of the tax policy of the British colonial authorities. Since the only way out for them was employment at the colonial administration, there arose the desire to

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[85] U. T. Thakur, *Sindhi Culture...*, p. 37.

[86] O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 459. See also: M. B. Pithawalla, *An Introduction to Sind; Its Wealth and Welfare*, p. 78.

[87] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, p. 418.

[88] In the beginning of the twentieth century the daily wage of a skilled worker did not rise above one rupee; an unskilled worker got just four to eight annas. (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, pp. 416—417).

get British education without which it was impossible to acguire a clerk position. [89] Nevertheless, the numbers of European-educated Sindhi intelligentsia were small even in the 1920's. Even though opposition feelings and discontent with Sind's colonial position gradually matured among them, their relations with the Muslim sections of the landlord class made these opposition feelings appear confessional.

The development of capitalist elements effected both the formation of the Sindhi national language and the ideology of the Sindhi society.

In the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries the Sindhi national language arose on the basis of Lower Sind's dialects (i. e. the country's most advanced part where its major centres—Karachi and Hyderabad—were located) and under the influence of the leading Sindhi writers. From the end of the nineteenth century onward Sindhi was used at school, as well as at local administration and lower-division courts. The growth of literacy, [90] the rise of periodical press and the expansion of cities were the major factors responsible for a more vigorous interaction between literary language and vernacular dialects. The normalizing influence of literary speech gained ground owning to the reform of Sindhi script (undertaken by Wathan Sahib in the middle of the nineteenth century) and a number of Sindhi grammar books and the works dealing with the history of Sindhi (Diwan Parbha Das Anandram and Mirza Sadiq Ali Shah Bahadur). [91]

As the Sindhis advanced on the road of national consolidation, they assimilated alien elements (Baluchis, Brahuis, Rajasthanis, Arabs and Iranians). Sindhi ousted the languages of Sind's isolated ethnic groups and became a dominant language at the close of the colonial period. One of the indicators of the ethnic transformation at work is that the number of the speakers of Sindhi is much higher than those who consider it a mother tongue. [92]

Pioneers of enlightenment emerged at the close of the nineteenth century. The Maulvi Allah Bakhsh Apojha (d. 1901) was the most prominent of them. In his works he sought to find out why Sind was in decline and where the road to progress was to look for. An advocate of modern education, he opened in Karachi a girl school, the first in the history of Sind. A. B. Apojha's ideology and work received a great impetus from the prominent poet and philosopher Altaf Husain Hali (1837—1914) who wrote in Urdu.

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[89] Pir Hussammuddin Rashdi, *Sindhi Adab*, p. 96.

[90] In the 40's of the twentieth century there were about 300,000 literates in Sindhi in Sind.

[91] For more detail see: Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, *Sindhi Adab*, pp. 83—84.

[92] *Census of Pakistan 1951*, Vol. VI, p. 105.

At the close of the nineteenth century there arose in Sind public organizations whose major goal was *Qaumi Islah*—a national reform. European-model schools at which instruction was carried out in Sindhi appeared.

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of modern Sindhi literature, whose development owed much to Mirza Kalichbeg (1855—1929), founder of Sindhi prose and auther of many popular novels.

The first periodicals in Sindhi appeared and journalism got into its stride owing to the efforts of M. Kalichbeg and Hakim Fath Muhammed Siwastani, Jithamal Parasram Anjhani and others. [93]

The first decades of the twentieth century saw the publication of the first fiction and historical magazines in Sindhi (*Ta'alim*, *Al-Kashif* and *Tawhid*). New genres were cultivated. The Sindh writers (R. B. Kuremal, Akhund Lutf Allah Walid Qureshi, Haji Imam Bakhsh, and others) created original works and translated many outstanding works from Sanskrit, Farsi, Urdu and European languages. [94] Sindhi original works and translations concerned with history, geography, literary criticism and education came out. Progressive authors began to voice new themes of social motifs, denouncing the colonial regime and demanding radical social and moral reforms. Some satirical authors (Mahmud Hashim Mukhlis, Nur Muhammed Nizamani, Shamsuddin Bulbul) scoffed the Sindhi well-off top cringing before the British and fought for original Sindhi culture.

The Hindus no less than the Muslims contributed a great deal to the development of modern Sindhi literature.

The formation of national community among the Sindhis manifested itself in the growth of the Sindhis' national consciousness and national movement.

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The circumstances under which the national consolidation of the Pashtuns and Baluchis proceeded were much more complex than those of the Bengalis, Punjabis and Sindhis.

In 1893, the Durand Line cleaved many of the tribes (Mohmand, Shinwari, Afridi, Wazir, Kakar, etc.) between Afghanistan and British India. In October 1901, when the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) was established, the Pashtun territory was split again, this time by an administrative line; part of the Pashtun tribes (Kakar, Pani, Tarin, Shirani) found themselves incorporated in Baluchistan and the highland Pashtuns were separated

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[93] Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, *Sindhi Adab*, pp. 87—88; K. S. Salam, *Pakistan's Earliest Newspaper*, pp. 181—186.

[94] For more detail see: A. Bausani, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, pp. 296—299; Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, *Sindhi Adab*, pp. 94—95.

from the low-land Pashtuns. Furthermore, some areas inhabited by un-Pashtuns were also incorporated in the NWFP.

The administrative fragmentation of the territories inhabited by the Pashtuns and Baluchis (the Baluchis we shall discuss below) no doubt made difficult their national consolidation. Among other factors were economic incongruity and different levels of social development between separate Pashtun and Baluchi tribes; many isolated mountainous areas with weak intercourse between them; and the artificial isolation of the areas inhabited by the Pashtuns and Baluchis introduced by the colonial authorities after the second British-Afghanian War of 1878—1880. These factors contributed to the preservation of feudal relations and deep-rooted clan prejudices still lingering in the public life and mentality of the Pashtuns and Baluchis. [95] For this reason, *jirgah*—the council of male heads of families—continued to bulk large in many areas, even though most of the tribe chieftaine—tumandars, sardars, khans and maliks—were in fact big landlords by the close of the nineteenth century.

The development of capitalist elements in the territories inhabited by the Pashtuns dates from the late nineteenth century. Urban population grew, and trade bourgeoisie and scanty European-educated bourgeois-landlord intelligentsia arose. Private landlord ownership came into being. Market agricultural production gained ground.

Along with the growth of agricultural output (owning to expanding export trade) there arose separate areas specialized in the production of definite crops, which in turn led to the rise of exchange between these areas and made possible the formation of the national market. [96]

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[95] These survivals lingered in some areas till the close of the nineteenth century and even later. Thus, the custom of regular land parcelling (*wesh*) was abolished in the Yusufzays' country only after the First World War. Among the Marri, one of the Baluchi largest tribes occupying approximately 10,000 *sq. km* in the Dera Ghazi-Khan region, all land is regarded as common property. Parcelling was in evidence even after the Second World War (*Imroz*, Lahore, March 11, 1957).

[96] O. H. K. Spate pointed out that between the mountainous areas of the Pashtun tribe belt whose population was engaged mainly in grazing cattle breeding, and the plains, "there is a good deal of petty trading" (O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 438). Supplied into the administrative regions from the tribe belt and the Pashtun states Dir and Swat were: cattle, cattle produce (wool, hide), wood, fuel, ropes, fruit, potatoes, tobacco, some handicraft articles, etc. The administrative regions supplied into the mountainous areas: cereals (wheat, corn, etc.), salt, matches, metalware, textile (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, p. 185; Vol. XX, p. 120). The administrative regions maintained especially lively intercourse with Swat-Bajaur regions, which accounted for 30 per cent of all import and 23 per cent of all export of the administrative regions in 1924—1925.

Lively trade inrecourse was also in evidence between the administrative regions and Afghanistan: Afghanistan accounted for 26 per cent of the trade turnover of the administrative regions in 1903—1904, for 50 per cent in 1912—1913, and for 45 per cent in import and 62 per cent in export in 1924—

As tallage in kind gave way to tallage in cash, the Pashtun peasantry began to stratify; some of the peasants lost their lands to the landlords and moneylenders. It should be noted that the same processes were already in evidence earlier, in the mid-nineteenth century, and extended over the areas which were later situated to the west of the Durand Line and the areas to the east of it. In Bannu, for instance, the bulk of the land in the mid-nineteenth century was already in the hands of moneylenders and the number of hamsaya was twice as much as that of full-fledged commoners. [97] The establishment of British colonial rule on the right bank of the Indus involved exceedingly high taxes, thus speeding up the landlessness of the Pashtun peasantry.

In their efforts to turn landlords (as in other parts of British India) into their major social supporters, the British authorities contributed to the expropriation of common and peasant lands, encouraging the landlords to take possession of them, distributing generous jagirs (which became soon private property) to the maliks and khans and endowing them with honorary titles. [98] As a result of this policy, the Pashtun landlords of the NWFP's administrative regions had taken hold of over 60 per cent of all arable land by the 30's of the twentieth century: tenants, most of whom held no right in the land they cultivated, and farming labourers accounted for 48 per cent of the rural population of these regions. In the 1911—1931 period alone the proportion of peasant owners dropped from 72.5 to 42 per cent. [99]

The formation of private landlord ownership and the stratification of the Pashtun peasantry were paralleled by the rise of the Pashtun national wealthy merchants. While in the beginning these acted largely as middlemen in external trade—which is

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1925 (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, pp. 185, 214; Л. Р. Гордон, *Аграрные отношения в Северо-Западной пограничной провинции Индии*.., стр. 133—135; В. А. Ромодин, *Дир и Сват*, стр. 114—115). Extensive trade relations existed also between Afghanistan and the Pashtun tribe belt: thus, the annual export of metal table-ware manufactured by Waziristan's artisans into the markets of Kabul and other Afghanistan cities in the 30's of the twentieth century was estimated at 20,000 rupees. (M. Yunus, *Frontier Speaks*, p. 66).

[97] H. B. Edwards, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, pp. 66, 73—74.

[98] Thus, Khwaja Muhammad Khan Khattak was granted, for the services rendered to British colonial authorities, a jagir in the western part of the Khattak lands. Faujdar Khat Alizai was endowed with a large jagir and raised to the titles of khanbahadur and nawab (H. W. Bellew calls him a man of proved fortitude and devotion to the British government). Examples of this kind can be easily multiplied (Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i Afghani*, pp. 324—327; H. W. Bellew, *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 96).

[99] Landlord ownership was arising in the territories west of the Durand Line as well; set in motion in the latter half of the nineteenth century, this process gained special momentum after the land-tax reforms undertaken by the Amir Amanullah Khan (1919—1929) as a result of which any restrictions on the purchase and sale of land were raised.

understandable since trade capital, at least in the beginning, could derive profit only from the foreign consumers of home produce or from the home consumers of foreign produce [100]—later, as commodity-money relations gained more ground, they began, little by little, to control an increasingly larger proportion of internal trade between the Pashtun-inhabited hills and plains and between expanding towns and farming countryside.

Highway and railway construction, as well as the establishment of road safety, contributed much to the growth of Pashtun trade capital.

The specialization of handicraft production was well under way in the Pashtun lands. In the most advanced areas, many artisans went bankrupt due to the competition of British factory-made articles, falling into the bondage of middlemen and money-lenders, the agents of overseas firms, and becoming in fact home-workers. This made it possible for the Pashtun landlords and merchants to transfer part of their accumulations into the field of industrial production.

Alongside of the first industrial and transport enterprises, the Pashtun national bourgeoisie and proletariat were emerging. Labour market was taking shape.

The development of capitalist relations and formation of bourgeois society classes varied widely from area to area in the Pashtun regions. In the plain areas which gravitated economically toward urban centres, this process was more alive. In the mountainous valleys, however, capitalism was in its infancy even till the end of the Second World War: the feudal relations, often encumbered with clan-system survivals, were predominant.

However uniform this process was, it is possible to state that by 1947 the major classes of bourgeois society—bourgeoisie and proletariat—were there.

Between 1901 and 1947 internal migration expanded since such areas as Peshawar and Mardan advanced in economic development and the cities expanded. More ruined Pashtun peasants came into the cities of the NWFP as seasonal workers, not only from the tribe belt but even from Afghanistan. [101] The proportion of urban population grew. New urban centres arose. [102]

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[100] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 555.

[101] As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, there were in the NWFP's administrative regions 76,000 emigrants from the Pashtun-peopled areas of Afghanistan (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, pp. 162—163).

[102] Peshawar's population rose from 95,147 in 1901 (including 21,804 in cantonment) to 173,420 in 1941. During the 1931—1941 decade alone the population of the NWFP's administrative regions rose 25.2 per cent. In 1941, the NWFP's urban population accounted for 18.2 per cent of the province's total (against 13 per cent in 1911); and the number of urban-type settlements doubled between 1901 and 1941 (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, p. 162; *Statistical Digest of Pakistan*, pp. 2—3, 20).

The development of urban handicraft, industry and trade contributed a great deal to city growth. More than a quarter of the self-subsistent population of the administrative regions were engaged in handicraft and industrial production in the 1930's.[103]

The population of the Pashtun cities changed ethnically as more moved from countryside to town. While in the beginning of the nineteenth century, as we have mentioned above, there was not a single town in which the Pashtuns were numerically predominant, in the 30's of the twentieth century, of the 26 cities of the NWFP there were 15 in which they were predominant,[104] and in other cities there was an extensive Pashtun section. The Pashtuns accounted approximatelly for a half of all workers employed in urban industry and handicraft, and seem to have even prevailed among the owners of small-scale enterprises in the NWFP.

However, rank-and-file proletarians were slow to take shape; most of the peasants and artisans who settled in towns left their families in the villages because their barely sufficient wages were not enough to go round. In 1931, there were 561.3 females per 1000 males in the NWFP's cities (and 872.2 females in the rural areas).[105]

By 1947, there were already a few dozen industrial enterprises with five or six thousand workers employed in the Pashtun areas east of the Durand Line. The amount of workers employed at small-scale handicraft-type enterprises defies counting, but it is certain that they were much more numerous.[106] By far the most extensive section of the working class was, of course, farming proletariat whose numbers ran into a few hundred thousand people.

Capitalist development in the Pashtun-peopled territories being in its infancy, it is even beyond the frontier that the Pashtun bourgeoisie and proletariat were arising: a continuous and steadily growing migration of the Pashtuns was under way into North and West India, where the ruined peasants were able

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[103] They wer engaged in the production of ropes, baskets, wax, furniture, woodwork, carpets, textile, woolen blankets, bone flour, varnished articles, etc. Food industry, notably dried and tinned fruit, made special progress. Just before the Second World War there were 29 fruit-processing enterprises in Peshawar region and six such enterprises in Miranshah. Nafis Ahmad pointed out that many thousands were engaged directly or indirectly in these two industries, a lot of workers being recruited from the tribe territories (Nafis Ahmad, *The Basis of Pakistan*, pp. 147—149; see also: M. M. Haque, *Around Khyber*, pp. 13, 27).

[104] Sh. Ansari, *Pakistan. The Problem of India*, p. 50.

[105] *The Indian Year Book*, 1943—44, p. 180.

[106] In Afghanistan, too, there were about a score of industrial enterprises, the largest of them, *Mashinkhane* at Kabul, founded in 1885, employed as much as a thousand workers; but the over-all amount of the working class in Afghanistan and its ethnic composition are unknown.

to sell their manpower [107] and the Pashtun merchants were in a better position to invest and repay their capitals. Many of them became itinerary pedlers and moneylenders. When back at home, they bought land or shares of a company or started an enterprise of their own.

The Pashtuns also migrated from their home areas of North-Eastern British Baluchistan. As the author of an English gazetteer pointed out, they went to trade and look for a job: as diggers and labourers they were unrivalled. [108]

In the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries the Pashtun bourgeois intelligentsia was also taking shape. The sons of landlords and merchants who had been educated at the Lahore University or the English College in Peshawar (opened in 1855) were employed as clerks at the British administration in the NWFP, or as teachers or became free professionals. [109] Many graduated from the missionary schools; some even travelled to Europe to finish their education (as, for example, Khan Sahib, who made a prominent public figure in the sequel).

The emergence of European-type educational establishments contributed to the rise of the Pashtun intelligentsia; [110] the largest of them was the college founded at Peshawar in 1913 by Abdul Qaiyum Khan Yusufzai.

Vital changes took place in the ideology of the Pashtun society. Despite the religious disguise under which the new ideas were advocated, the calls to "take a new lease on life" and modernize Islam were objectively to reform the out-of-date feudal institutions, adapting them to the nascent bourgeois relations. Herein lies one of the main aspects of the activity of Sayid Jamaluddin Afghani (1838—1897) and his followers.

From the close of the nineteenth century modern literature in Pashto began to arise owing to the efforts of Qazi Mir Ahmad Shah Rizwani (1863—1937), Munshi Ahmad Jan (1882—1951), Mahmud Tarzi (1867—1935) and other writers. Journalism came into being and the first Pashtun newspapers appeared. New fiction genres became cultivated. Bourgeois enlightenment sprang up and the first public organizations (first in the form of writers' societies) cropped up. Interest in the native language and folklore

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[107] As O. H. K. Spate noted, "...their remittances home were a not unimportant contribution" (O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 438). In the Punjab alone the number of the Pashtuns rose, above all on account of seasonal workers, from 34,000 to 53,000 or 55 per cent during the 1921—1931 period. In Bombay, also, there was a considerable amount of Pashtun seasonal workers (over 11,000) (*Census of India, 1931*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 74).

[108] (R. Hughes-Buller), *Baluchistan*, pp. 24, 43.

[109] M. Yunus, *Frontier Speaks*, p. 62.

[110] In 1903, there were over 26,000 students at the NWFP's educational establishments (*The Imperial Gazeteer of India*, Vol. XIX, p. 220).

In the 20's and 30's many of the Pashtun youths of the NWFP and the tribe belt got modern education also in Afghanistan, where after 1919 a great deal of educational facilities of European type were opened.

expanded. Monuments of Pashtun folklore were collected and published. The first grammar books, texts and dictionaries of Pashto came out. The works of European writers and scientists were translated into Pashto. [111]

In the Pashtun-inhabited territories, like in the Punjab, the national language norms could not cover sufficiently fast even the top of the Pashtun society. For this reason, Farsi and Urdu were still in use as literary languages side by side with Pashto.

As the study of many linguists shows, the formation of the all-Pashtun national language norms is well under way during recent decades. The national language is undergoing in its development a considerable influence of the eastern Pashto literary forms and deriving much of its vocabulary from the western dialects as well. Through school, press, radio, etc. the literary language affects the development of the vernacular dialects. [112] The Pashto Academy at Peshawar and the Afghan Academy (*Pashto Tolyna*) at Kabul are making grand efforts in working out grammar norms and unifying the Pashto script. The creative work of Pashtun progressive writers and poets is exercising a vital influence on the formation of the Pashto national language.

As the Pashtun national consolidation makes steady progress, the Pashtuns are assimilating gradually a number of small nationalities and separate ethnic groups. Apart from the observations of linguists and ethnographers, this is attested also in Pakistans' Census returns for 1951: there were 350,000 more of those who speak Pashto than those who consider Pashto as mother tongue [113]—an essential line of evidence of the ethnic transformation which accompanies the national consolidation.

As capitalist relations develop and the Pashtuns consolidate into a bourgeois nation, their national consciousness is maturing and the national movement gaining momentum. The revolutionary events of 1905-1917 in Russia and the national-liberation movement of the subcontinent's peoples have had a far-reaching effect on these processes.

Feudal notions masqueraded as religious doctrines are withering away and new forms of ideology developing. The reason for the Pashtun national unity lies in the fact that all the Pashtuns are of common origin, have one common language culture, traditions and customs and one motherland. A manifest anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist pattern is one of the distinctive feature of the Pashtun nationalist ideology. [114]

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[111] For more detail see: Г. Ф. Гирс, *Литература непокоренного народа*; A. Bausani, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, pp. 329—332.

[112] The problems of the formation of the Pashto national language have been investigated in the works of Soviet scholars: M. G. Aslanov, N. A. Dvoryankov, G. F. Girs.

[113] *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. I, p. 75.

[114] For more detail see: Г. Ф. Гирс, *Литература непокоренного народа.*

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Most of Baluchistan was overran by the British under the treaties imposed on the rulers of Kalat and Kabul in 1854, 1876 and 1879.

The Baluchi lands under British rule were carved into the so-called British Baluchistan, the agencies territory and the federation of Baluchi states (Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Las-Bela) with the khan of Kalat as head of the federation.

The very first steps of capitalist development in Baluchistan date from the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time, 95.5 per cent of the population lived in the countryside, most of whom were engaged in extensive cattle breeding, leading a nomadic or semi-nomadic life. There were six towns with a total population of 40,000 in Baluchistan. With the only exception of Quetta which had a population of 24,600, each of the towns was little more than a village even a few decades later.[115] Only 15.8 per cent of the urban population (or 6,000) were natives of Baluchistan, the rest having come from beyond the frontiers either as British soldiers and servicemen or as persons catering for British army and administration.[116] Natural relations reigned high in the country, and even trade was largely of barter nature.[117]

The construction of several railway branches in North and North-East Baluchistan during 1891—1905, the extension of the network of roads and the modernization of the ports of Gwadar and Pasni in the coastal area of Makran facilitated (even though strategy was their main goal) the export of food and agricultural raw materials and the import of factory-made articles from overseas. Market production began to develop in Baluchistan's agriculture. Certain areas, whose production depended formerly on environment and not on market demand, were now more specialized in definite commercial crops (cattle breeding in Marri-Bughti country and Harran-Dajil, fruit cultivation in Quetta-Pishin, fishery and date growing in Makran). The rise of such a large (on the country's scale) urban centre as Quetta raised local food demand and stimulated its production. Commercial vegetable and fruit growing became popular in the vicinity of Quetta.

The development of railway traffic gave a definite impetus to mining, above all coal mining in the northern part of Baluchistan. The amount of coal extracted rose from 122 tons in 1886 to 10,300 tons in 1891 and 47,300 tons in 1903. British experts managed coal mines owned by the North-Western State Railway, i. e. owned in point of fact by the British capital. Stone salt and other minerals were also extracted on a small scale. The

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[115] I. M. Khan, *Baluchistan*, p. 4.

[116] (R. Hughes-Buller), *Baluchistan*, pp. 87, 129.

[117] Barter trade is common: food grain is exchanged for salt, fish for dates, textile for ghee and wool, an official British report stated (*Ibid.*, p. 52).

first enterprises of industrial type arose: four steam mills, one steam press and two refrigerators began operating in the vicinity of Quetta in the beginning of the twentieth century. [118] Mechanical and railway shops were built there in the following years. In the period between the First and the Second World War the extraction of chromite was a new large-scale development (over 21,000 tons in 1936). [119]

High taxes followed in the wake of the British rule. Thus, taxes rose 82 per cent in Sibi region between 1879/80 and 1902/03, and 350 per cent in Quetta region between 1882 and 1895. [120] One of the reasons for such a sharp increase in taxes is that taxes were collected in kind (wheat) to supply the British troops.

As taxes grew, more peasants went landless. This process received a fresh impetus after the First World War when the British authorities imposed land-tax reforms, in particular, they substituted taxes in kind for taxes in cash almost everywhere. The social differentiation of the peasantry became more intense. While in 1901—1903, as a British official report stated, the peasant owners cultivated most of the land, the tenants were few and agricultural labourers were non-existent, in 1931 we find a substantial section of tenants and labourers (22.4 and 7.7 per cent respectively of all families engaged in agriculture) even though more than a half (52.4 per cent) of Baluchistan's peasants were still cultivating their own estates. [121] Little by little, landlords and moneylenders took hold of the most fertile lands, one of the contributing factors being the formalization of private landholding rights undertaken by the British authorities for these social sections as the major stronghold of their rule. [122]

The Baluchis often rose up in arms to resist colonial, feudal and moneylending oppression. In 1897—1898 and 1901 there were disturbances in North-East and Central Baluchistan. In 1897—1900 the Baluchis of Bampur and Dizak rose in revolt against their oppressors.

The Russian Revolution of 1905—1907 and the subsequent revolutionary events in Iran and India had a far-reaching effect on the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement of the Baluchi people. In 1907 there was an uprising in Kalat, while in Iranian Baluchistan the Baluchis swept away the Shah's troops and officials and took control of the area.

The subsequent years (1915—1916, 1925, 1927—1928) also witnessed several Baluchi uprisings.

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[118] (R. Hughes-Buller), *Baluchistan*, p. 47—50.
[119] *The Indian Year Book, 1943—1944*, p. 193.
[120] (R. Hughes-Buller), *Balushistan*, p. 37.
[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 42—43; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 66.
[122] For more detail see: М. Пикулин, *Белуджи*, стр. 130—134; И. Маздур, *Аграрный вопрос и крестьянское движение на Северо-Западе Индии...*, стр. 101—102.

The social and economic underdevelopment of the Baluchis and the lack of political parties and public organizations resulted in that the revolts were of sporadic and spontaneous nature. The British and Iranian authorities often provoked inter-tribal clashes and suppressed ruthlessly the rebellions, taking advantage of the feudal top's fear and their own military supremacy. [123]

Unsuccessful though they were, the uprisings nevertheless had a positive effect. The fight against colonialists being what it was, some of the Baluchi tribes forgave and forgot their feud of yore and pulled together. [124] Furthermore, the uprisings undermined the feudal foundations of the Baluchi society, stirring up political activity among its most progressive elements.

The annexation of Baluchistan by the British colonialists not only speeded up the development of commodity-money relations, but also paved the way for the conversion of the country into an agrarian appendage of the metropolis. The import of factory-made articles (in the first place textile) was in steady progress; alongside with higher taxation this led to a large-scale bankrupcy of the local artisans, whose numbers dropped 63 per cent during the 1921—1931 period alone. [125]

The expropriation of direct producers—peasants and artisans—made easier the formation of a labour market. Migration into more economically advanced areas was in evidence. The numbers of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes were in a slow, but steady decline: in 1911 the settled population accounted for 54.3 per cent of Baluchistan's total, whereas the figure rose to 59.9 per cent in 1921 and to 62.7 per cent in 1931. During three decades (1901—1931) the urban population rose 162 per cent (from 40,000 to 103,000). The city of Quetta was gaining special momentum as the country's major political, administrative, economic and cultural centre. The economic ties between different areas of Baluchistan matured. The nascent territorial labour division indicated that the formation of the Baluchi national market was on the move.

Along with the development of capitalist relations in Baluchistan the major classes of bourgeois society were taking shape.

In 1903, the number of proletarians did not exceed a thousand, of which 800 were miners, whereas the number employed at Baluchistan's industrial enterprises reached 8041 in 1928/29 and 8667 in 1929/30. [126] Moreover, a few thousand repair workers were employed at the railways. The rise of rank-and-file proletariat was handicapped by adverse working conditions and barely

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[123] For more detail see: Mir Gul Khan Nasir, *Tarikh-i Baluchistan*, Vol. II.

[124] M. A. Rooman, *Ghulam Hussain...*, pp. 361—367.

[125] *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 66—67.

[126] (R. Hughes-Buller), *Baluchistan*, p. 47; *Administration Report of the Baluchistan Agency for 1929—1930*, pp. 20—21.

sufficient wages; thus, a miner was paid just 12 annas a day in the beginning of the twentieth century.[127] The skilled labour were largely natives of the Punjab; most of the Baluchis were unskilled workers. Baluchi proletariat was also arising beyond the frontier of the country; in the Punjab, Sind, and Bombay, which drew thousands of penniless Baluchis year by year in the search of jobs.[128]

The situation thus arisen in Baluchistan made the formation of purely Baluchi bourgeoisie exceedingly difficult. The proprietory top (consisting almost exclusively of landlords in Baluchistan) had neither incentive nor opportunity to invest their accumulations effectively. On the surface it seemed that the development of commodity-money relations could, as long as extensive feudal survivals remained intact, allow part of the landlords to strike out on their own as traders and moneylenders and thereby gradually "go bourgeois". But their efforts would stumble on the monopoly which the Sindhi, Gujarati and Punjabi traders and moneylenders, in intimate contact with the British capitalists, enjoyed in the internal market and in the domain of credit and monetary operations. Hindus from Sind and Khojas from Kacch controlled wholesale trade in the state of Kalat, and retail trade was largely in the hands of the Hindus, as a British official report stated in the early twentieth century. The agents of the Shikarpur firms controlled trade in Sibi; the same applies to Las-Bela and other areas of Baluchistan.[129]

Baluchi intelligentsia was especially slow to take shape. In 1903, there were only two secondary and 22 primary schools in the country, in which the children of un-Baluchis, the servicemen of the British administration, were mostly enrolled (including just 349 children of the local citizens). Instruction was in Hindustani and Punjabi, and at the secondary schools in English, and not in Baluchi.[130] Even fourty years afterward there were only 80 schools in the country. In 1947, natives accounted for less than 2 per cent of the teachers, i. e., about two dozens.[131]

The country's socio-economic development was exceedingly ununiform. In the 1940's the urban population of the states (covering 60 per cent of East Baluchistan's area) accounted for 4 per cent. Most of the urban population were un-Baluchis and none of the cities was a centre of Baluchi national consolidation. Capitalist system came into its own only in the most advanced, northern and north-eastern areas of Baluchistan as a derivative

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[127] This means that the wage of a Baluchi worker was well below the minimum of 30—35 rupees a month that was the lowest labour cost level in India.

[128] *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 74.

[129] (R. Hughes-Buller), *Baluchistan*, pp. 52, 142, 184, 189.

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[131] I. M. Khan, *Baluchistan*, p. 8.

of the British monopoly capital operating in the country. In other areas of Baluchistan, feudal relations encumbered by out-of-date clan-system survivals were predominant. Among the factors responsible for their perpetuation were the attempts made by the feudal landlordship of the Baluchi society to take advantage of these survivals to fortify their own position and disguise the class contradictions, and the policy of the British colonial authorities aimed at reinforcing their power through whetting inter-tribal feud and bribing the Baluchi exploitating top. It is only in 1926—1929 that slavery was officially abolished in Baluchistan.[132]

Baluchistan's colonial dependence and socio-economic backwardness (in comparision with other areas of British India) had a negative effect on the ethnic processes at work in the country. As they doomed the peoples of Baluchistan to poverty and illiteracy, curbing the development of capitalist relations and arresting the rise of bourgeois-society classes and social strata, the colonial authorities thereby made the national consolidation of the Baluchis exceedingly difficult, shaping it in a lopsided pattern. The ruined Baluchi cattle breeders, land cultivators and artisans could not sell their man power at home and had to emigrate, mainly into Sind, by the thousands. During the Second World War and the immediate post-war years the number of Baluchis in Sind rose from 235,000 to 442,000 or 88 per cent.[133] In addition, more than a hundred thousand Baluchis lived in the vicinity of Karachi.

By the time of the establishment of Pakistan, there were more Baluchis in Sind than in Baluchistan itself. It is in Sind that Baluchi petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia were taking shape. Even in 1951, most of the literate in Baluchi (2,104 people) were living beyond the frontiers of Baluchistan, mainly in Karachi.[134] It is also in Sind that the Baluchi periodical press emerged in the 30's (first in Urdu and later, in the 40's, in Baluchi). For years the *Baluchistan Gazette*, published in English at Quetta, was the only newspaper in Baluchistan itself. There were neither newspapers nor books published in Baluchi.[135] Farsi and Urdu were in use as literary languages among the Baluchis. It is only in the 40's that the first monthly in Baluchi appeared at Quetta, but did not survive a few years. In the 40's the first

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[132] For more detail see: И. Маздур, *Аграрный вопрос и крестьянское движение на Северо-Западе Индии...*, стр. 100.

[133] *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. VI, pp. 107—108.

[134] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Table 8, p. 73; Vol. II, p. 53.

[135] In the nineteenth century, the Baptist missionaries of Serampur were conducting a mission in Baluchistan. In 1815, they published a Baluchi translation of the *New Testament*, the first printed book in Baluchi (A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India...*, p. 66). However, the mission had no effect on the dissemination of European education among the Baluchis or on the formation of Baluchi intelligentsia.

Baluchi enlightenment societies came into existence (the largest of them—*Anjuman-i islah-i baluchan*, the Baluchi Enlightenment Society,— was founded by S. Hashmi in 1946).

The territorial dispersion of the Baluchis resulted from Britain's colonial policy in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century did and does make the Baluchi national consolidation exceedingly difficult. The Baluchis do not occupy a single territory; they are scattered, in more or less large groups, amidst other peoples. According to the 1951 Census of Pakistan, there were just a few areas in Baluchistan where they constitute a majority: in Chagai and Sibi districts (60 and 54 per cent of the population respectively) and in the States of Kharan and Makran (81 and 100 per cent).

For all these handicaps, however, the rise of the Baluchi nation is under way. In 1951, there were in East Baluchistan 78,000 more of the Baluchi speakers than those for whom Baluchi is the mother tongue.[136]

The Baluchis are the only one of Pakistan's major peoples who had not consolidated into a bourgeois nation by the time when the colonialists left the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The national consolidation of the Baluchis is still on the move in our day. The Baluchi proletariat is growing and bourgeoisie and intelligentsia are taking shape.[137] The birth of Baluchi national consciousness is in evidence. Baluchi literature is in progress, Gul Khan Nasir and Azad Jamaldini being the leading Baluchi writers. There are a number of Baluchi national organizations (All-Pakistan Baluch League, Baluchistan Students League, Baluch Party or *Ustomangall* and others) in which, apart from bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, landlords are also important members. Many of the Baluchi organizations are urging the establishment of a single Baluchistan province in West Pakistan incorporating all Baluchi-peopled territories.[138]

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[136] *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. 1, p. 68; Table 7, 7—A, pp. 7—4, 7—6, 7—7, 7—8.

[137] In early 1951, there were in Baluchistan 1,600 professionals (engineers, teachers, doctors, etc.); there were 1,200 those at higher-education level and 6,000 those at secondary-education level (*Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Vol. II, p. 59; Table 11—A, p. 11—4).

[138] For more detail see: Yu. V. Gankovsky, L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya, *A History of Pakistan*, pp. 158, 223; Ю. В. Ганковский, *Административная реформа 1955 г. в Западном Пакистане*, стр. 79—84; *Национальный вопрос и национальные движения в Пакистане*, стр. 191—207.

CONCLUSION

The study of the major stages of the ethnic history of the Bengalis, Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhis and Baluchis shows that each of the peoples had moulded into a feudal nationality by the time of the British conquest. The socio-economic development of separate parts of the subcontinent being far from uniform, some of the peoples (in the first place the Pashtuns and Baluchis) retained a few deep-rooted survivals of the traditions, notions and social elements basic to clan organization. Among the several factors contributing to this non-uniformity were, in particular, the existence of many isolated and inaccessible mountainous areas within the ranges of the Baluchis and Pashtuns where the impact of the advanced economic and cultural centres was slight indeed; and recurrent armed incursions involving, as they did, the mass destruction of productive forces and, on many occasions, the influx of inferior nomadic and semi-nomadic nationalities and tribes, which contributed to the revival of more primitive forms of social organization. At the same time, the rise of certain elements of the new social structure successive to feudalism was in evidence in the most advanced parts of the subcontinent (in Bengal in the mid-eighteenth century and in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century). Thereby it became possible for the population of Bengal and the Punjab to turn into a new hist -rical form of human ethnic community: to consolidate into a bourgeois nation.

It should be noted that neither of the feudal nationalities inhabiting the north-western and north-eastern areas of the subcontinent in the late Middle Ages can be traced back direct to any one of the ancient Indian slave-owning nationalities (or one union of kindred tribes). They all of them imbibed a large variety of ethnic and racial elements in the sequel. On the other hand, the same ethnic elements (in different proportions and sequences) found themselves incorporated in various feudal nationalities as a result of the complex processes of ethnic crossings and divergences.

The ethnic history of Pakistan's peoples shows that the foreign invasions, which sometimes involved extensive migrations and ethnic crossings, had an important, though not a crucial,

effect on the ethnogenesis of the Sindhis, Punjabis, Pashtuns, Baluchis and Bengalis.

In none of the migrations did the newcomers exterminate or drive away the whole indigenous population. Even though the migrations at the dawn of the history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent caused the indigenous population to change their language and form a new ethnolinguistic community as a result of the amalgamation of heterogeneous ethnic elements, the new community kept alive cultural as well as anthropological continuity.

Intercourse with the countries of Near and Middle East, Middle Asia and South and South-East Asia bulked large in the formation of many elements of the material and spiritual culture of Pakistan's peoples both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages. However far-reaching this intercourse was, the internal social and economic development of the subcontinent's peoples remained a principal factor of cultural and historical progress, allowing the peoples, among other things, to absorb some cultural elements or other of the neighbouring countries and peoples.

The main elements of the material and spiritual culture of Pakistan's peoples have grown on local soil as a result of the natural development of the civilization of the autochthonous population; the extraneous elements of this culture played, and play an important, though not a crucial, role.

The changes in the ethnic character of the subcontinent's peoples brought to light during the study of their ethnic history are associated with the natural development and growth of the productive forces of the Indian society rather than with the invasions, migrations, foreign influences. The progress of productive forces, no matter how slow or latent it was, and, as a corollary, enlarged reproduction, resulted both in the change of the objective circumstances of the Indian society and in that people and producers changed as new traits evolved, as Karl Marx emphasized, developing themselves due to production, re-educating themselves and creating new forces and new concepts, new methods of association, new demands and new language.

Religious status was an important, though not a primary, factor in the ethnic processes at work over the territory of the north-western and north-eastern parts of the subcontinent that made it possible for the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Baluchis and Bengalis to form into feudal nationalities (and into bourgeois nations from the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries). The change of the religion professed by the population of one region or other often had no effect on their ethnic affiliation.

Changes in the religious domain did affect the ethnic processes when they were paralleled with some fundamental transformations in the socio-economic structure, and if they themselves arose

from radical social revolutions. There is no doubt that during the transition from clan organization to slave-owning or feudal system the spread of class-society religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and others) affected the course of ethnic processes, prompting the pre-class conceptions and social institutions to wither away and the clan relationships to dissolve.

The community of religious conceptions favoured the consolidation of different ethnic elements into a single nationality. However, religious community alone was not enough to make a single slaveowning or feudal nationality. What indeed was needed was the preliminary formation of general material culture based on the rapprochement, transformation and cohesion of heterogeneous and ethnically specific elements. Territorial contacts and economic ties were a prerequisite of such cohesion. As the population was consolidating into a single nationality, changes in material culture influenced the way of life and household features, flattening out the tribal and ethnic distinctions. When these varied, continuous and interacting factors found their way into the language, they affected thereby the glottogonic processes. As language changed, so did ethnic consciousness.

The study of the ethnic history of Pakistan's peoples shows that the nationalities thus arisen possessed a remarkable immunity toward a large variety of external factors. Neither hordes of invaders, nor extensive migrations, or the dissemination of new religious doctrines, could shatter them.

This ethnic community remained intact even when the states of the subcontinent fell victim to the colonial expansion of European powers, and on losing their sovereignty became Britain's colonies in the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries.

The development of capitalist relations, which set in during the mid-nineteenth century, exercised a crucial influence on the ethnic processes at work in the territory of the subcontinent, resulting in the formation of bourgeois nations in the country. Because the levels of socio-economic development in various parts of the subcontinent were different and their historical evolution under colonial rule was peculiar, bourgeois nations in the north-east (in Bengal) began to take shape earlier than in the north-west (in the Punjab, Sind and especially in the Pashtun lands and Baluchistan). Colonial rule arrested the development of capitalist relations and thus had a negative effect on the consolidation of the peoples of present-day Pakistan into bourgeois nations, but it could not arrest the course of history.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS TO BIBLIOGRAPHY

ВДИ — «Вестник древней истории», М.
ВИ — «Вопросы истории», М.
ВЯ — «Вопросы языкознания», М.
ЗКВ — «Записки Коллегии востоковедов при Азиатском музее Российской Академии наук», Л.
ИМ — «Историк марксист», М.
КСИНА — «Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии АН СССР» (till 1960 — Institute of Oriental Studies), М.
КСИЭ — «Краткие сообщения Института этнографии АН СССР», М.
НАА — «Народы Азии и Африки», М.
ПВ — «Проблемы востоковедения», М.
СА — «Советская археология», М.
СВ — «Советское востоковедение», М.
СЭ — «Советская этнография», М.
ТИЭ — «Труды Института этнографии АН СССР», М.
УЗИВ — «Ученые записки Института востоковедения АН СССР», М.— Л.
УЗТИ — «Ученые записки Тихоокеанского института АН СССР», М.
AI — *Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, New Delhi.
AsR — *The Asiatic Review*, London.
BSOAS — *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London.
IA — *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IJAL — *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Baltimore.
JAOS — *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore.
JAs — *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JASB — *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JASP — *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca.
JRAS — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
MI — *Man in India*, Ranchi.
MR — *Modern Review*, Calcutta.
SREP — *Social Research in East Pakistan, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications*, Dacca.
TC — *Tamil Culture*, Tuticorin — Madras.
ZDMG — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig.

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